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A SURVEY OF
NEO-ELAMITE HISTORY

By

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THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT

2000

In memory of my father

PREFACE

This book is a revision of my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Graduate Group in Ancient History at the University of Pennsylvania in 1997. I owe a great debt to teachers, colleagues, and friends too numerous to mention who supported me during the course of writing the dissertation and working on the revisions. In particular, I thank my committee members James Muhly, Holly Pittman, and my advisor Erle Leichty. Erle deserves additional and copious thanks for securing many collations for me, allowing me access to his manuscript on Esarhaddon's inscriptions for the RIM project, and proofreading the preliminary proofs of this manuscript. For much of my graduate studies, I was fortunate and grateful to receive funding from the Louis J. Kolb Foundation of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. I am also appreciative of the assistance provided by John Curtis, Christopher Walker, and the WAA staff of the British Museum during my study there in the Fall of 1996.

I have benefited immensely from several contacts beyond the University of Pennsylvania, in particular François Vallat, Pierre Briant, Simo Parpola, and Matthew Stolper, whose assistance has been invaluable to my developing understanding of the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods in Iran. Many of the merits of this work may be traced to the above individuals, though it should not be assumed that they agree with my interpretations. Its shortcomings no doubt result from where I did not seek or willfully ignored their advice.

Special thanks to Bob Whiting for his care and expertise in guiding this manuscript to publication. I am privileged to publish this work as an *SAAS* volume, and I thank Simo Parpola for the invitation to do so. Of course, any errors or difficulties within are my responsibility. I delivered the manuscript for publication in September of 1999, and it has been for the most part impossible to incorporate material appearing after that time.

Finally, and most of all, I acknowledge my wife Michelle, to whom I owe a debt beyond words. Without her patience and support, this would not exist.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 14 volumes, 1892-1914
Achaemenid History	*Achaemenid History*, Volumes I-XI: proceedings of the Achaemenid History Workshops, various authors and editors, 1983-1994
ADD	C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 4 volumes, 1898-1923
AfK	*Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	*Akkadishes Handwörterbuch*, 3 volumes, 1959-1981
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Akk.	Akkadian
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Neue Folge
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James B. Pritchard, Third Edition, 1969
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914
ARINH	*Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in literary, ideological, and historical analysis*, ed. F. M. Fales, 1981
AS	*Assyriological Studies*
Aynard, *Asb.*	J. M. Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939*, 1957
BA	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*
Bagh. Mitt.	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
Bauer, *Asb.*	T. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 1933
BHT	S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*, 1924
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BIWA	R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 1996.

BM	siglum for tablets in the collections of the British Museum, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities
Borger, *Asar.*	R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, AfO Beiheft 9, 1956
Brinkman, *Political History*	J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C., 1968*
Brinkman, *Prelude*	J. A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, 1984
BSLP	*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956-
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
Cameron, *HEI*	G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, 1936
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson et al., 1995
Carter, *Elam*	E. Carter and M. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, 1984
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*
DAFI	*Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française in Iran*
DB	Darius, Bisitun
Dietrich, *Aramäer*	M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidzeit (700-648)*, AOAT 7, 1970
EKI	F. W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, AfO Beiheft 16, 1965
El.	Elamite
ElOn	R. Zadok, *Elamite Onomasticon*, 1984
ElW	W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 2 volumes, 1987
FHE	*Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M-J. Steve*, ed. L. de Meyer, H. Gasche, and F. Vallat, 1986
Frame, *Babylonia*	G. Frame, *Babylonia 689-627 B.C.: A Political History*, 1992
Frame, *Rulers*	G. Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin of Babylonia to the End of the Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)*, RIM Babylonian Periods, Vol. 2, 1995
Fuchs, *Sar.*	*Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 1994
Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns"	P. Gerardi, "Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns: A Literary and Political Study," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987.
GN	geographical name
Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers II*	A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC)*, RIM Assyrian Periods, Vol. 3, 1996
Grayson, *Chronicles*	*Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 1975
Grayson, "Sennacherib Inscription"	"The Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription," *AfO* 20 (1963) 83-96
Hinz, *Lost World*	W. Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam: Re-creation of a Vanished Civilization*, translated by J. Barnes, 1972.
IA	*Iranica Antiqua*
IRS	F. Malbran-Labat, *Les inscriptions royales de Suse: Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'empire néo-élamite*, 1995
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
K	siglum for objects in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum
KF	Kūl-e Farah
1(1).	line(s); indicates the obverse of a two-sided tablet
Lie, *Sar.*	A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, 1929
Luckenbill, *Senn.*	D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, OIP 2, 1924
MDP	*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*
ME	Middle Elamite
Millard, *Eponyms*	A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910-612 BC*, SAAS II, 1994
Miroschedji, "La fin du royaume"	P. de Miroschedji, "La fin du royaume d'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'Empire perse," ZA 75 (1985), 265-306
Miroschedji, "La fin de l'Élam"	P. de Miroschedji, "La fin de l'Élam: Essai d'analyse et d'interprétation," IA 25 (1990), 47-90
N.A.B.U.	*Nouvelle assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*
NE	Neo-Elamite
Nin.	Nineveh Letter
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*
OP	Old Persian
Or.	*Orientalia* Nova Series

Paper, *RAE*	H. Paper, *The Phonology and Morphology of Royal Achaemenid Elamite, 1955.*
Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*	S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms, AOAT* 6, 1970
PFT	R. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets, OIP* 92, 1969
Piepkorn, *Asb.*	A. C. Piepkorn, *Editions E, B$_{1-5}$, D and K of the Annals of Ashurbanipal,* 1933
Pl.	Plate(s)
PN	personal name
PNA	*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire,* ed. K. Radner, 1998-
PTS	siglum for tablets in the collection of the Princeton Theological Seminary
PTT	G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Texts, OIP* 65, 1948
R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* 5 volumes, 1861-1884
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
Rép. géogr.	*Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*
RIM	*Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie,* 1928-
RN	royal name
Royal City	*The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre,* ed. P. Harper, J. Aruz, and F. Tallon, 1992
SAA	*State Archives of Assyria*
SAAS	*State Archives of Assyria Studies*
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*
Steve, *Syllabaire*	M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire élamite, histoire et paléographie,* 1992
StIr	*Studia Iranica*
Stolper, *Elam*	E. Carter and M. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology,* 1984
Streck, *Asb.*	M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die lezten assyrishen Könige bis zum Untergang Niniveh's,* 3 volumes, 1916
Studies Landsberger	*Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger ...,* ed . H. Güterbock and Th. Jacobsen, 1965
Studies Oppenheim	*Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim,* ed. R. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman, 1964
ŠS	Šikaft-e Salmān
Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III*	H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria,* 1994

TTM	M. W. Stolper, *Texts from Tall-i Malyan I: Elamite Administrative Texts (1972-1974),* 1984
de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*	J. M. C. T. de Vaan, *"Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs": Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni, AOAT* 242, 1995
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse"	F. Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse des inscriptions néoélamites," in *Collectanea Orientalia... Etudes offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket,* ed. H. Gasche and B. Hrouda, 1996, 385-95
Vallat, "Lettres de Nineve"	"Le royaume élamite de Zamin et les 'Lettres de Nineve'," *IA* 33 (1998) 95-106
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
VAT	siglum for tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
Waterman, *RCAE*	L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire,* 4 volumes, 1930-1936
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*
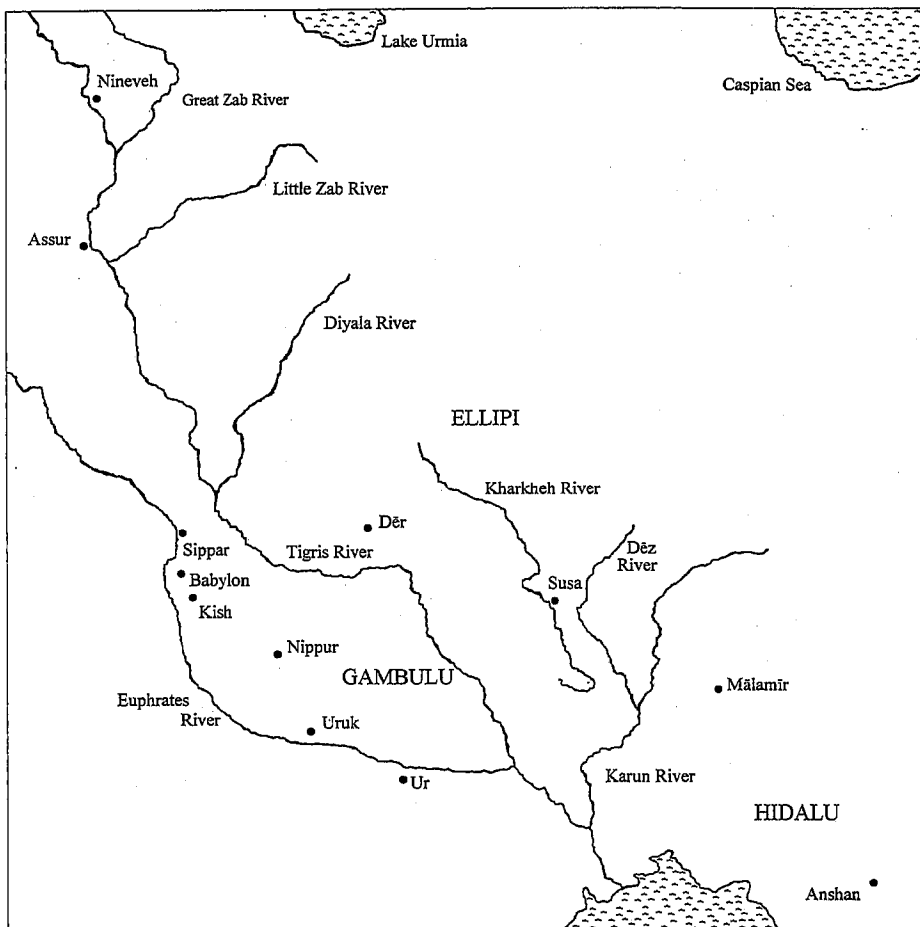
Map 1.   Mesopotamia and Elam in the Neo-Elamite Period (c. 1000-550 BC)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This work examines Neo-Elamite history as revealed by an analysis of the textual sources. It focuses on southwestern Iran during the Neo-Elamite period, defined here as approximately 1000-550 BC. Foremost among the obstacles is the necessity of relying upon Mesopotamian (Assyrian and Babylonian) material to interpret Neo-Elamite history. Indigenous written sources are few and poorly understood, especially relative to those of Mesopotamia. Because of this source-bias, the study will inevitably gravitate to the concerns generated by the Mesopotamian texts. Particular emphasis is placed upon the historiographic difficulties inherent in the sources. Specific archaeological and art historical considerations will typically remain beyond the scope of this work.[1]

There currently is no extensive examination of Neo-Elamite history, and this contribution attempts to rectify that deficiency: to examine traditionally-held perceptions of Neo-Elamite history and their validity and to offer new interpretations as well as directions for further research. There are numerous overviews and studies on particular topics, to which this work is frequently and heavily obliged. This study builds upon previous works focusing on political history by assessment of the written source material. Foremost among these are George Cameron's *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936); Walther Hinz's *Das Reich Elam* (Stuttgart, 1964);[2] and Matthew W. Stolper's contribution to *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984).

Several obstacles in historical analysis stem from the limited understanding of the Elamite language. Comprehension of the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax is imperfect, and thus the translation and interpretation of many texts are uncertain.[3] The Neo-Elamite phase of the Elamite language contained

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[1] See for discussion and references, P. de Miroschedji, "La fin de l'Élam" and D. T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*, (Cambridge, 1999), 259-308. The journal *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (*AMI*) publishes annual bibliographies.

[2] Published in English (translated by J. Barnes) as *The Lost World of Elam* (London, 1972).

[3] The primary grammatical studies are H. Paper, *The Phonology and Morphology of Royal Achaemenid Elamite* (Ann Arbor, 1955); E. Reiner, "The Elamite Language," in

archaizing elements from the Middle (classical) Elamite period, even while the language began the transition to the Achaemenid Elamite of the early Persian royal inscriptions and the administrative documents from Persepolis. Since Neo-Elamite texts do not provide internal information regarding their date, paleographic and stylistic features are often used to determine chronology. However, some of these elements do not prove consistent even within the same inscription, and it is difficult to establish accurate dates for these inscriptions on such criteria.[4]

A corollary to this problem concerns the identification of Elamite names from their Akkadian attestations, especially those Elamite names that appear only in Akkadian contexts. Some of these names are so similar in form that identification is straightforward (e.g., Akkadian *Ummanaldaš* for Elamite *Huban-haltaš*), and in such cases many Elamite names may be confidently postulated from Akkadian forms. In other cases such as *Urtak, Tammaritu,* and *Indabibi*, the Elamite form of the Akkadian adaptation is uncertain.

Differentiation of homonymous individuals also is problematic. Akkadian *Šutur-naḫundi(-u)*, rendered *Ištarḫundu* in the Babylonian Chronicle, is a form of Elamite *Šutur-* or *Šutruk-Nahhunte*. There are several distinguishable Elamite individuals named Šutur- or Šutruk-Nahhunte, and the identification of any one of them with the Akkadian *Šutur-naḫundi* or *Ištarḫundu* (and variants) is not straightforward (see Appendix B). This difficulty applies likewise to *Tammaritu*, a name that appears only in Assyrian sources, but in which there are three distinguishable individuals who bear it. These homonymous individuals are differentiated in only a fraction of the instances in which they appear in the sources, enough to signal that more than one individual bore a particular name. But only in rare instances do the sources explicitly differentiate an individual from his homonymous counterparts.

Varying use of the term "Elam" (from the Hebrew *ʿēlām*) – normalized *Elamti* (usually written with the logogram ^{KUR}NIM.MA^{KI}) in Akkadian texts and *Ha(l)tamti* in Elamite texts – in the ancient sources also lends confusion to modern analysis. Political and military vicissitudes, as well as geographical and cultural perceptions, lay at the root of these varying uses.[5] In the early periods (the late third to early second millenniums), some texts suggest that "Elam" in a strict sense referred to Fars.[6] In the first millennium, Assyrian military incursions and Iranian migrations had an enormous impact, only the

former of which is traceable with any confidence in the extant sources. Elamite territory (in the strict, political sense of those regions that Elamites controlled) gradually shrank, until by the late Neo-Elamite period Elam was confined primarily to Khuzistan and its mountainous fringes.

The term "Elam" will be used throughout this work in a broad sense – similar to the use of "Assyria" or "Babylonia" – primarily as a geographical term. It will also serve to indicate a loosely linked state (or states) radiating from Khuzistan at the center (in the Neo-Elamite period) north to Luristan, south to Bušire, and east to Fars. Neo-Elamite territorial control beyond these regions cannot be confidently traced. Thus, "Elam" will refer to the indigenous inhabitants of southwestern Iran, who shared a common language and customs that may be identified as "Elamite." Indeed, in this late period, the singular "state" may be misleading. Elam encompassed numerous regions whose political links may have been tenuous at best. Indications of contemporaneous Elamite states are noted and discussed, when they might be determined.

Throughout its history, Elam's physical geography played an important role in its politics. Susa and Khuzistan constituted a lowland component, more subject to developments in (and invasions from) Mesopotamia, though somewhat insulated by marshland to the west and the Zagros foothills to the north. Beyond Khuzistan lay the highland components of Elamite civilization, stretching all the way to Baluchistan in the early periods. These regions are much less evident in the sources, and thus much less understood, but they may well have represented the true Elamite heartland.[7]

Periodization and Chronology

Neo-Elamite history has been divided into three main periods (I-III). The chronologies of M.-J. Steve, F. Malbran-Labat, and F. Vallat run as follows

	Steve[8]	Malbran-Labat[9]	Vallat[10]
a	NE I (c. 1000-900)	NE I (1000 - c. 760)	NE I (c. 1110-770)
b	NE II (c. 750-653)	NE II (c. 750-653)	NE II (c. 770-646)
	NE III A (c. 653-605)	NE III (653-539)	NE III (646 - c. 539)
	NE III B (c. 605-539)		

Altkleinasiatische Sprachen (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. 2. 2, 1969); F. Grillot-Susini, *Éléments de grammaire élamite,* (Paris, 1989); and M. Khačikjan, *The Elamite Language* (Roma, 1998). *EIW* contains a compendious bibliography on Elamite studies through 1986.

[4] Note M. Stolper's remarks in "Malamir. B. Philologisch," *RlA* 7, 279: "Other dating criteria – paleography, syllabary, and grammar – are tentative at best, since they require the reduction of evidence drawn from documents of different types and proveniences to single standards of comparison."

[5] See Stolper, *Elam,* 3-4 and F. Vallat's extensive discussion of the term "Elam" and of Neo-Elamite geography, *Rép. géogr.* 11, cviii-cx, cxxxvii-cxliii, and 90-93.

[6] Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, cviii-cx.

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[7] Historical considerations are thus usually relegated to Khuzistan and Fars, where the majority of exploration has occurred and where extant textual material is concentrated. For discussion of the geography of the Old and Middle Elamite periods, see Vallat *Rép géog.* 11, cx-cxxxvii.

[8] Steve, *Syllabaire,* 21-23.

[9] *IRS,* p. 129

[10] "Nouvelle analyse," 393 and *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VIII (Costa Mesa, California, 1997), 310. P. de Miroschedji, analyzing the archaeological evidence, divides Neo-Elamite history into two periods: Neo-Elamite I (c. 1000 - c. 725) and Neo-Elamite II (c.

As noted previously, Neo-Elamite historical chronology is entirely dependent upon Mesopotamian sources. Chronological assignment of those Neo-Elamite kings unattested in Mesopotamian sources is tentative in most cases. The periodization followed herein does not depart drastically from those above and is based on the following premises: the Middle Elamite center Anshan was abandoned sometime in the tenth century at the latest; there is no attested Neo-Elamite king before Huban-nikaš I (743-717); there is no unambiguous evidence for contemporaneous Neo-Elamite kings before 653; and Susa and any remaining Neo-Elamite kingdoms were conquered early in Cyrus the Great's reign (c. 559-530) if not before.

Neo-Elamite I (c. 1000 - 743)
Neo-Elamite II (743 - 653)
Neo-Elamite III (653 - c. 550)

Because of the limitations of the source material, this study inevitably focuses upon the Neo-Elamite II and early Neo-Elamite III periods (743 - c. 645), for which Mesopotamian sources provide a historical chronology and some details of Neo-Elamite political and military activities. The Babylonian Chronicle supplies regnal dates for Huban-nikaš I (743-717) through Urtak's accession in 675. After 675, Neo-Elamite historical chronology is reliant primarily upon Assyrian royal inscriptions, which are indistinct with respect to the length of Neo-Elamite kings' reigns. Letters and administrative documents occasionally fill the gaps, but exact regnal dates for Urtak through Huban-haltaš III are uncertain.[11] After the 640s, when Mesopotamian sources no longer provide a chronological framework, regnal dates of kings are speculative. Elamite inscriptions lack internal chronological markers, and assigning dates to them based on their stylistic and orthographic elements is problematic (see above).

Overview of the Sources

Evidence for Elamite civilization spans more than three millennia, but there are several and significant gaps. The history of the Neo-Elamite period begins with such a gap (Neo-Elamite I, c. 1000-743), and it is not until the mid-eighth century that Akkadian and Elamite sources provide any significant information regarding the political situation. The various sources include royal inscriptions, chronicles, letters, omen queries, legal and administrative documents, and several other texts that do not fit under these general headings. A full, critical review of these individual types of sources, their characteristics

and use, is far beyond the scope of this work. Only a brief overview of the written sources follows.[12]

Royal Inscriptions

Assyrian royal inscriptions – dating to the late eighth and first half of the seventh centuries, primarily from the reigns of Sargon II (721-705) to Ashurbanipal (668-627) – are the most informative accounts for Neo-Elamite history. Among these royal inscriptions are relief captions, orthostats, building inscriptions, and the different recensions of the annals. The modern editions used primarily in this work are A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen, 1994); D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924); E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (Wien, 1997); R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Graz, 1956); A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, Volume 1: *Editions E, B_{1-5}, D and K*, (Chicago, 1933); J. M. Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre (AO 19.939)* (Paris, 1957); M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Nineveh's* (Leipzig, 1916); T. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933); and R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden, 1996).[13]

The royal inscriptions serve various propagandistic and religious purposes and are not without bias.[14] They color modern perspective of Elam through a lens of hostility. In those few instances where non-Assyrian sources provide information upon the same event, a different picture emerges. The examples of the battles of Dēr and Halule offer the best case studies, for which different sources declare different victors.[15]

The Assyrian royal inscriptions do not by any means provide a clear picture of the intricacies of Elamite government and politics. There are instances where more than one king may have ruled concurrently in Elam, as will be seen in the course of this study. A good example of this is found in Ashurbanipal's account of his campaign against Te'umman. Edition B of the annals almost incidentally relates the defeat and capture of Ištarnandi, king of Hidalu, who may have ruled at the same time as Te'umman. The Assyrian texts offer no information on the political relationship between the two kings,

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[12] For more extensive introductory remarks on the Mesopotamian source material, see Brinkman, *Prelude*, 113-22 and Frame, *Babylonia*, 5-26.

[13] In addition, text editions by R. C. Thompson, E. Weidner, and H. Tadmor, among others, will be cited. There is an extensive bibliography of secondary work on the Assyrian royal inscriptions, and treatments relative to specific concerns will be cited throughout the work. For an extensive overview of both Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions, see A. K. Grayson, "Assyria and Babylonia," *Or.* 49 (1980), 149-71.

[14] For the study of these inscriptions beyond their historical content, see the contributions and references in *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis* (hereafter abbreviated *ARINH*), ed. F. M. Fales (Roma, 1981).

[15] See below, pp. 13-14 (Dēr) and pp. 34-36 (Halule), respectively.

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725 - c. 520); see his "Prospections archéologique au Khuizstan en 1977," *DAFI* 12 (1981), 170-71. See also Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 260-62.

[11] A table of Neo-Elamite rulers and their dates (where known) is given in Appendix A.

and the historian, limited by the available data, must attempt to interpret this puzzling account and its significance for Neo-Elamite history.

Extant Elamite royal inscriptions add little insight to these problems, and they often complicate matters. Most are dedicatory inscriptions, and they seldom contain details of a king's military deeds. Even when such exploits are recorded, it has proven impossible thus far to connect this information confidently with any of the comparable political and military actions recorded by the Assyrian kings in their inscriptions. There are no Elamite accounts comparable to the Assyrian annals. The number of Elamite royal inscriptions is relatively small, far less than their Akkadian counterparts unearthed in Mesopotamia.

Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions do not offer much information for Neo-Elamite history. They relate the kings' building activities more so than political deeds.[16] There are exceptions, of course, including especially some of the inscriptions of Nabonidus (556-539) that mention Cyrus the Great. But these instances fall beyond the scope of this work, which does not include the early Persian kings.

Chronicles

The Babylonian chronicle series is one of the most important sources for the chronology of the ancient Near East in the first millennium BC. It proceeds from the reign of Nabû-nāṣir (747-734) to the second year of the reign of Seleucus II (224).[17] Within this time span there are significant gaps because of missing or fragmentary sections of the tablets. The Neo-Babylonian chronicle series (chronicles 1-7) provides specific regnal dates and links between Mesopotamian and Elamite kings as well as important information on royal genealogy and military and political activity. With regard to Elam, Chronicle 1 (called herein the Babylonian Chronicle) is the primary chronological source.

For Neo-Elamite history the Babylonian Chronicle is supplemented by the Esarhaddon (Chronicle 14) and Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Chronicle 15) chronicles. The Esarhaddon Chronicle contains entries from the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign into the first regnal year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (667). The Šamaš-šum-ukīn Chronicle includes entries for 664 and 654-650, as well as entries

[16] See Grayson, "Assyria and Babylonia," 159-63. Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions are published in G. Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin of Babylonia to the End of the Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)*, RIM Babylonian Periods, Vol. 2, (Toronto, 1995) and S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, VAB 4 (Leipzig, 1912).

[17] For an overview, to which these preliminary remarks are indebted, see A. K. Grayson, "Königslisten und Chroniken, B. Akkadisch," *RlA* 6, 86-135. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, New York: 1975) contains the transliterated text of the chronicles and is used primarily in this work. A more recent translation may be found in J. Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes* (Paris, 1993).

for two earlier Babylonian kings at the end of the tablet. These three chronicles overlap, and there are some differences.[18] Independent evidence throws some information contained in the chronicles – at least as regards Elam – into question. These instances will be treated in the appropriate places below.

Letters

The Sargonid kings' official correspondence, several hundred letters written in both Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian dialects dating from the reigns of Sargon II through Ashurbanipal, was found primarily in the royal archives of Nineveh (Kuyunjik).[19] Letters from other places (e.g., Nimrud) will also be considered where relevant. Within the Nineveh corpus, only a fraction of the letters deal with Elam or Elamite concerns, but this fraction is significant in the overall amount of source material for Neo-Elamite history.

The Sargonids' correspondence covers a wide range of issues, including (but not limited to) political, military, legal, economic, cultic, and scholarly affairs. Since they are typically private documents, they are generally assumed to be candid. Thus, the letters are often seen as more reliable than royal inscriptions and other public documents. However, since many of the letters were written directly to, or would have been considered by, the king, this consideration may have in some cases spurred the authors to distort the truth for personal gain.[20] This general caveat holds for correspondence between the king's officials and other individuals as well.

The fragmentary condition of many of the tablets, reference to otherwise-unknown events (of which the authors assumed their recipients were aware), and the use of obscure idioms make interpretation and chronology especially difficult. Some letters contain exact dates, but such instances are relatively few. Other letters may be dated approximately by their contents, but these attempts frequently are uncertain. In light of Elam's long history of hostility with Assyria, letters germane to their relations are particularly hard to place chronologically without unequivocal references to specific kings or easily identifiable individuals – references that are usually lacking. Indeed, events

[18] See J. Brinkman, "The Babylonian Chronicle Revisited," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller (Atlanta, 1990), 73-104 and Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, 95-108.

[19] Within this time frame, the majority of letters date to the final years of Esarhaddon's reign and through the first half of Ashurbanipal's reign, i.e., the mid-seventh century. The letters were published in copy by R. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Parts I-XIV, 1892-1914 and transliterated and translated by L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, 1930. Waterman's treatment is dated in many respects. Hand copies of the remaining Kuyunjik corpus were published by S. Parpola in *CT* 53 (London, 1979) and M. Dietrich in *CT* 54 (London, 1979).

[20] See Frame, *Babylonia*, 15.

described within these letters often may be attributed to more than one episode within the reign of the same Assyrian king. At times even a general sequence of letters is difficult to determine.

A small collection of Neo-Elamite letters, the so-called Nineveh letters (a group of approximately two dozen letters, mostly fragmentary), are extremely difficult to interpret. Many elements of these letters, including their provenience, language, and historical context, remain problematic. The Nineveh letters, and other scattered Neo-Elamite letters that involve similar problems of interpretation, are discussed in Chapter Seven.

Other Sources

This heading takes account of the numerous other sources relevant to Neo-Elamite history beyond those briefly discussed above. These include a wide range of textual material, including, but not limited to, the following: Akkadian literary texts, administrative and legal texts (both Akkadian and Elamite), omen queries (written in Akkadian, with one exception), Neo-Elamite seal inscriptions, and other texts of various sorts which do not easily fit under one of these subheadings. The bulk of the Elamite sources included in this group appear to date near the end of the Neo-Elamite period, and they are usually assigned to the approximately one hundred years between Ashurbanipal's sack of Susa (646) and the rise to power of Cyrus the Great (mid-sixth century).[21] These Elamite texts provide the majority of the extant source material for this period, since information from Mesopotamian sources for Elam declines precipitously after the 640s. The literature on the Mesopotamian sources in this wide group is enormous.[22] Since only a fraction of these various Mesopotamian documents pertains to Neo-Elamite history, specific instances and concerns will be noted at the appropriate places in the study.

Notes on Methodology and Transliteration

Writing on Neo-Elamite history requires an uncomfortable reliance upon qualification and speculation. Vagaries, gaps, and the lack of identifiable concord between Mesopotamian and Neo-Elamite sources demand that most conclusions be provisional. There is enough ambiguity in the evidence that a wide array of divergent interpretations may plausibly be argued. In and of themselves, extant Neo-Elamite sources offer little hope of establishing a secure, detailed chronology and historical sequence. Therefore, analysis of Neo-Elamite history is necessarily reliant upon Mesopotamian sources,

which provide the chronological and historical framework for the years 743 to 646. Chronological assignment of those Neo-Elamite texts that fall outside of this range (i.e., those that cannot be linked to the Mesopotamian-based historical sequence) is imprecise and provisional. This study takes a minimalist view based on the principle that the historical sequence provided by Mesopotamian sources is paramount. Wherever possible, evidence from Neo-Elamite sources is linked with the historical chronology provided by Mesopotamian sources.

Akkadian and Sumerian transliterations in this study follow standard conventions. For Elamite transliteration, the determinatives for feminine personal names (SAL, represented by ^{f}) and divine names (AN, represented by ^{d}) follow Akkadian, since these determinatives serve no additional functions in Elamite and are unambiguous. The vertical wedge (DIŠ) is represented by a superscripted -v-, rather than the masculine determinative (^{m}), since this determinative precedes titles as well as masculine personal names in Elamite. The horizontal wedge (AŠ), which usually (but not always) indicates a geographical name in Elamite, is represented by superscripted -h-. The sign -MEŠ-, used in Elamite to indicate that the preceding word is a logogram or pseudo-logogram, is superscripted. Other determinatives (e.g., such as BE and GAM[23]) are represented by the sign superscripted before the appropriate word. Words in Elamite inscriptions frequently carry over two lines, and citations to such instances will be represented by a slash (/) to indicate the line numbers.

Transcription of Elamite words follows F. Vallat's tenets,[24] with consonant choice based upon which letters best reflect the grammatical elements (as described in the grammars). The logogram for "king" is rendered as EŠŠANA.[25] Wherever clear, Elamite personal and geographical names are normalized with their Elamite form (e.g., *Huban-haltaš* instead of Akkadian *Ummanaldaš*). Where these forms are not clear and attested only in Akkadian, a normalization based on the Akkadian form is used. In those few instances where a similar form occurs in Elamite and Akkadian, a normalization of the Elamite form is used (e.g., *Hidalu* not *Ḫidalu*, *Huhnur* not *Ḫuḫnur*) except, of course, in Akkadian transliteration. Dates are represented by month/day/year; for example, XI/6/3: the eleventh month (Akkadian *Šabattu*), sixth day, in the third regnal year or XI/6/647 to indicate a year according to the Gregorian calendar, i.e., 647.

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[21] Chapter Seven is devoted to these sources. For the dating of the sack of Susa, herein assigned to 646, see Appendix C.

[22] See Frame, *Babylonia*, 11-18 for discussion and preliminary bibliography.

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[23] See M.-J. Steve, "Le déterminatif masculin BE en néo-élamite et élamite-achéménide," *N.A.B.U.* 1988/2 (Juin), No. 35.

[24] *Rép. géogr.* 11, x-xii.

[25] See Steve, *Syllabaire*, No. 593 for bibliography.

The Early Neo-Elamite Period (Neo-Elamite I)

The Šutrukid Dynasty (late twelfth and early eleventh centuries) marked a high point of Middle Elamite political and military power. Šutruk-Nahhunte I's forays into Babylonia brought down Zababa-šum-iddina and effectively ended Kassite rule in 1158.[26] Šutruk-Nahhunte's sons, Kutir-Nahhunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak I, maintained Elamite superiority in Babylonia. However, during the reign of Huteludus-Inšušinak, a revitalized Babylonia struck against Elam to avenge the incursions into Mesopotamia by Šutruk-Nahhunte I and his sons. Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104) is reported to have plundered Elam.[27] The extent of the Babylonian victory is uncertain, however, and it did not signal the end of the Šutrukid Dynasty. Huteludus-Inšušinak may have fallen back to Anshan, but this cannot be confirmed.[28]

Huteludus-Inšušinak is the last attested ruler of the Šutrukid Dynasty. There is some indication that Huteludus-Inšušinak's brother, Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar may have ruled as king, since he is named in a later text, in conjunction with Huteludus-Inšušinak, as a king (see below, p. 17). After Huteludus-Inšušinak no Elamite royal inscriptions are extant until Šutruk-Nahhunte II's reign (717-699). In the intervening centuries, only scraps of information exist regarding the political situation in Elam. These fragments come primarily from Mesopotamian sources.

The only exception to the lack of Elamite source material for this period is the group of administrative texts found in the EDD building at Tall-i Malyan (Anshan).[29] M. Stolper dates them approximately 1100-1000 BC, and he notes the possible restoration of king Huteludus-Inšušinak in tablet 86.[30] Royal inscriptions of Huteludus-Inšušinak have been found at Malyan as well.[31] These texts shed little light on the transitions Elam underwent during eleventh through eighth centuries, but they do indicate that Anshan was yet an important center near the turn of the millennium.

Subsequent references to Elam in the extant sources are limited until the eighth century. The Dynastic Chronicle reports that Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur, who is named as a "remote(?) descendant of Elam," ruled for 6 years (984-979).[32] J. A. Brinkman suggests that this was a Babylonian of Elamite ancestry, perhaps even descended from a king.[33] F. König suggests that this individual was indeed an Elamite who claimed the Babylonian throne.[34] However, no extant sources indicate Elamite domination of Babylonia at this time. Over a century after Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur, the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad V (823-811) fought Elamite troops assisting the Babylonian king Marduk-balāssu-iqbi in 814.[35] Šamši-Adad V claimed victory in battle at Dūr-Papsukkal (near Dēr). Šamši-Adad V may not have decisively defeated Marduk-balāssu-iqbi's forces at this time, since the Assyrians advanced no further south that year.[36]

The status of Elamite-Assyrian relations in the early eighth century is not clear. Administrative documents from Nimrud provide some scraps of information.[37] Two (unnamed) Elamites appear in one wine list, one with the appellation ša ki-i-ki.[38] The Elamite bow was in use in 784,[39] and, later in the same text, a šappu (^{DUG}ŠAB) of wine was provided to an Elamite chieftain (^{LÚ}ṣīru). Unfortunately, little of historical value may be gleaned from these sporadic references.

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[26] Stolper, Elam, 39-40.

[27] L. W. King, Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1912), No. 6 i 42-43.

[28] See F. Vallat, "Une brique élamite de Huteludush-Inshushnak," DAFI 8 (1978), 104f, and Stolper, Elam, 43.

[29] Published by M. W. Stolper, Texts from Tall-i Malyan I (Philadelphia, 1984), hereafter TTM. For the excavations at Malyan, see E. Carter, Excavations at Anshan (Tal-e Malyan): The Middle Elamite Period (Philadelphia, 1996).

[30] TTM, 5-9 for the tablets' date and pp. 6-7 for the possible restoration of Huteludus-Inšušinak (the logogram EŠŠANA and the first part of the name are extant) as well as citations to other kings' names in some unpublished tablets. Steve dates the Malyan tablets c. 1000-900 (Syllabaire, 21).

[31] See M. Lambert, "Hutélutush-Inshushnak et le pays d'Anzan," RA 66 (1972), 61-76; F. Vallat, "Une brique élamite de Huteludush-Inshushnak," DAFI 8 (1978), 104f; and M.-J. Steve, et al., "La Susiane au deuxième millénaire," IA 15 (1980), 104ff.

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[32] Grayson, Chronicles, 143 v 13-15: ŠÀ.BAL.BAL ù(?) [El]amti^{ki}. Four Luristan bronze arrowheads are inscribed with Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur's name and the title šar kiššati ("king of the world"); see G. Dossin, "Bronzes inscrits du Luristan de la Collection Foroughi," IA 2 (1962), 160, No. 19 and Pl. XXVII and Frame, Rulers of Babylonia, 87-89.

[33] Brinkman, Political History, 165f. A summary of primary source material on this king appears on pp. 343-44.

[34] EKI, pp. 7-8 n. 108.

[35] Grayson, Assyrian Rulers II, 188 iv 37-42; see Stolper, Elam, 44.

[36] Brinkman, Political History, 209.

[37] These texts are published in J. V. Kinnier Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists: A Study of Men and Administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century, B.C. (London, 1972), for which see S. Parpola's review in JSS 21 (1976), 169-74, and S. Dalley and N. Postgate, Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser (London, 1984).

[38] Or šakīki? See Dalley and Postgate, Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser, No. 122:29'.

[39] [...LÚ.ZADIM] GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ KUR elam$^!$-ma-a-a (ibid., No. 145 iv 13). See J. Brinkman, "The Elamite-Babylonian Frontier in the Neo-Elamite Period, 750-625 B.C.," FHE, 203. Other fragmentary references to Elam and Elamites occur in Kinnier Wilson, Nimrud Wine Lists, Nos. 21 r. 2 and 35 iii 10 and Dalley and Postgate, Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser, Nos. 122:27'; 134:11'(?); 142:2(?); and 145 iv 26.

CHAPTER TWO

HUBAN-NIKAŠ I THROUGH ḪALLUŠU (743-693)

Huban-nikaš I (743-717)[1]

Huban-nikaš is the first Elamite king of whom there is explicit record. The Babylonian Chronicle relates that Huban-nikaš (I) became king in the fifth year of Nabû-nāṣir (743).[2] The chronicle makes no mention of a predecessor or of any violence upon his accession. A passage from Ashurbanipal's annals reveals the identity of Huban-nikaš I's father: Huban-tahra.

> 32 ṣalmū šarrāni... adi ṣalam ᵐUmmanigaš apil ᵐUmbadarâ ṣalam ᵐIštarnanḫundi ṣalam ᵐḪallusi ṣalam ᵐTammaritu arkû... alqâ ana ᴷᵁᴿAššur^KI adkâ[3]

> 32 statues of kings... including the statue of Huban-nikaš, son of Huban-tahra, the statue of Ištarnanḫundi, the statue of Ḫallušu, and the statue of Tammaritu II... I took away, I removed to Assyria.

This reference to Huban-nikaš, Ištarnanḫundi (Elamite *Šutruk-* or *Šutur-Nahhunte*), and Ḫallušu coincides with the first three Neo-Elamite kings recorded by the Babylonian Chronicle. The Babylonian Chronicle does not mention Huban-tahra, even though it begins with the reign of the Babylonian Nabû-nāṣir in 747, four years before Huban-nikaš I assumed the throne. The reference to Huban-tahra here serves to differentiate his son Huban-nikaš I from Huban-nikaš II (653-652?), son of Urtak. The syntax does not demand that Huban-tahra was a king. Huban-tahra is not mentioned elsewhere in Mesopotamian sources, so it cannot be confirmed that he ruled as king in Elam.[4] Mesopotamian texts make no further mention of this Huban-tahra,

although he may be the same individual as the Huban-tahra whom Hallutaš-Inšušinak named as his father in *IRS* 58 (see below).

The status of Elam's relations with its western neighbors during Huban-nikaš I's reign is unknown, but there are signs of potential conflict. Tiglath-pileser III (744-727) campaigned along the Elamite border. The Puqudu, the city of Laḫiru of Idibirina, and the cities of Ḫilimmu and Pillutu, "which are on the border of Elam" (*ša patti* ᴷᵁᴿ*Elamti*), were annexed and placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of Arrapḫa.[5] Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions delineate conquests of various Aramean tribes along the Uknû River and as far as the Lower Sea.[6] These Assyrian movements were presumably greeted with skepticism and alarm in Elam.

Elam soon thereafter becomes prominent in the Mesopotamian sources. The battle of Dēr (720) was the culmination of prolonged military and diplomatic maneuvering – of which we know nothing with certainty. This incident is mentioned in three different sources, each of which offers a different version of the events.[7] The divergence provides a lesson for analysis of the source material. The Babylonian Chronicle, often viewed as one of the most reliable sources available,[8] reports that in the second year of Merodach-baladan Huban-nikaš I effected an Assyrian retreat and thoroughly (*mādiš*) defeated them in the area of Dēr.[9] Merodach-baladan's version of the battle differed: he claimed victory over the army of Subartu (Assyria) and boasted that he expelled them from the land.[10] There is no mention of Elamite aid or presence. Finally, Sargon enumerated among his various triumphs the defeat of Huban-nikaš near Dēr.[11]

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[1] Dates given in parentheses after this and subsequent headings through the first year of Urtak (675) are based upon the Babylonian Chronicle. After that, Elamite regnal years are based upon chronological synchronisms with the Assyrian annals, which are imprecise.

[2] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 71 i 9-10.

[3] *BIWA* 54 A vi 48-57. Ashurbanipal subsequently defaced the statue of Ḫallušu (K 3062+; *BIWA* 54-55 r. 12'-19').

[4] Compare *ElW*, 680 and 1225, where Huban-tahra is assigned a reign of 760?-742 and Vallat, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VIII, 310: "first half of 8th century."

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[5] H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1994), Summary Inscription 7:13-14 and Summary Inscription 11:17. Tadmor restores Ḫilimmu and Pillutu in the latter citation, since the passage is parallel to that in Summary Inscription 7.

[6] Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III*, Annals 9:7 and Summary Inscriptions 7:9, 11:8, 2:8 and 14:2'. Most commentators view the Uknû as the modern Kharkheh, but it may refer here to the lower branch of the river (the Karun). See Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 337-38.

[7] This battle is discussed in numerous treatments, for example, J. Brinkman, "Merodach-baladan II," *Studies Oppenheim*, 6-53 and A. K. Grayson, "Problematical Battles in Mesopotamian History," *Studies Landsberger*, 337-42.

[8] See Grayson, "Problematical Battles," 340-42 and compare L. Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," *JCS* 34 (1982), 50 and n. 70.

[9] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 73-74 i 33-37. For the reading of *ṣaltu ul ikšud ana arkišu iḫḫisa*, compare *CAD* N/I, 129 ("Merodach-baladan did not come in time for the battle, so he withdrew to the rear") and W. Saggs, *Babylonians* (Norman, Okla., 1995), 155.

[10] Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 137 ll. 16-18. Although this battle is not specifically named, it is probably the one to which Merodach-baladan refers (Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, 14-15 n. 53).

[11] Fuchs, *Sar.*, 89 Ann. 20, 196-97 Ann. 23, and 135-37 Ann. 254-260. The last citation, despite its reference to Sargon's twelfth *palû*, also refers to the battle in 720 (Grayson, "Problematical Battles," 341). See also G. Frame, "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-I Var," *Or.* 68.1 (1999), 38-39 l. 16.

The Babylonian Chronicle's account is the one most frequently accepted with regard to the battle's outcome. According to the chronicle the battle was a strictly Elamite-Assyrian affair, one initiated by Huban-nikaš I.[12] Huban-nikaš I's aim is unknown. Several sources indicate that gifts and bribes (*kadrû* and *ta'tu*[13]) were made to Huban-nikaš,[14] but bribery was not the only issue here. The strategic value of Dēr offered sufficient motivation in itself. Possession of Dēr allowed the Assyrians access to the central Zagros and the high road to the northeast. Elam and Babylon coveted it for similar reasons, and, more significantly, it could serve as a buffer against Assyrian advances.

Although the Assyrians lost upon the field, they held the city. With Dēr secure, Sargon was able to turn his attention to the central and northern Zagros.[15] Whether this change in the direction of Sargon's campaigns was planned or thrust upon him by the circumstances of the battle at Dēr is uncertain. But Sargon made no movements against Babylonia or Elam for ten years.[16] In light of the problems Sargon had with Merodach-baladan and, further, the fact that Merodach-baladan held the throne in Babylon during this period (certainly not an ideal from the Assyrian perspective), this stalemate with Babylonia and Elam is significant. Assyria suffered a check to its ambitions in the south.

Huban-nikaš I may have made some territorial gains during this foray. Sennacherib's inscriptions refer to the retaking of Bīt-Ḫa'iri and Raṣâ, which were seized during Sargon's reign and returned to Assyria during Sennacherib's seventh campaign.[17] These settlements, probably to the east of Dēr, may have fallen to Huban-nikaš in 720. If the Elamites were able to hold any part of this region, it may have deterred further Assyrian campaigns against them. Brinkman suggests that turmoil surrounding the accession of Sargon and Assyria's subsequent vulnerability instigated Huban-nikaš to attack.[18] In light of Tiglath-pileser III's previous activity near Elam, a pre-emptive strike to secure the border seems a wise policy.

There are at least a dozen letters that contain references to Elam or Elamites that date to Sargon's reign. Several refer to military activity along the Babylonian-Elamite border, often in the region of Dēr. Some of these letters

may describe the prelude to the battle of Dēr in 720.[19] For example, *ABL* 1314+ (*CT* 53, 77): left edge refers to the annexation of a fortress in the context of Dēr. The king of Elam is mentioned earlier in the letter (l. 6). *ABL* 1008 mentions Elam (l. 6, 13) and Elamite troops (*ṣabē*; l. 8). The content of the obverse is obscure, but the reverse contains reference to loyalty oaths (r. 6). Whether the oaths and the intransigent villages referred to in this context are specifically Elamite is not certain because of the break between the obverse and reverse.[20] But if so, this letter may allude to Assyrian attempts to secure the Elamite border by imposing oaths upon the residents of individual towns.

ABL 774 concerns Sargon's activities in the southeast.[21] The letter opens with a report (ll. 5-9) that the fortress of Šama'ūnu was occupied by two hundred poorly provisioned soldiers.[22] After a broken section, there is a request for an army. The reverse side mainly concerns Abi-iaqar.[23] Abi-iaqar did not wish for peace but instead sought retribution against the land of the king. The letter goes on to mention a certain Indabiya, who was identified as the *rab līmi* ("commander of one thousand," r. 7) in a difficult passage:[24] "And, as for me, Indabiya the commander bothers(?) me in my house" (*u anāku ᵐIndabiya rab līmi ittiya ina bītiya kabsanni*).

The letter then describes an Elamite captive held in the prison of Abi-iaqar (r. 10f). The palace manager (*rab ekalli*) of Abi-iaqar released him for one mina of silver. The Elamite immediately went before the *qīpu*-official of Rāšu and testified that they (his fellows?) were not defeated, even though their children were being held as pledges (presumably by Abi-iaqar). All of Rāšu beseeched the king for aid and requested an army. The letter then ends with the authors' pronouncement: "All our hearts are unsettled"(?).[25]

The letter alludes to conflicts amongst the various peoples of eastern and southeastern Babylonia. The toponyms Šama'ūnu, Dummuqu, and Rāšu con-

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[12] J. Brinkman, "Elamite Military Aid to Merodach-baladan," *JNES* 24 (1965), 162 n. 11. Grayson, *Chronicles* 73-74, commentary to l. 35.

[13] In this context, *ta'tu* (see *AHw*, 1382 for attestations) is usually translated as "bribe," a translation that does not do full justice to the term. It also carries the nuance of tribute; see K. R. Veenhof *apud* Frame, *Babylonia*, 182 n. 261. For *kadrû*, see *CAD* K, 33 (citing this passage).

[14] For example, Fuchs, *Sar.*, 153 Ann. 309.

[15] Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 50 n. 70.

[16] Brinkman, *Prelude*, 48-49.

[17] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 39 iv 55-61 and A. K. Grayson, "The Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription," *AfO* 20 (1963), 90 ll. 19-23.

[18] Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, 12-13.

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[19] See Brinkman, "Elamite Military Aid," 162 n. 12 for additional references. As Brinkman notes, these letters may date from a later king's reign, particularly that of Ashurbanipal. Correspondence concerning activities near Dēr was plentiful, since its strategic importance was paramount.

[20] For URU.ŠE.MEŠ, see R. Borger, *Assyrische-babylonische Zeichenliste, AOAT* 33/33A (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1988), 65 citing J. N. Postage, "URU.ŠE = *kapru*," *AfO* 24 (1973), 77. *CAD* A/II, 214 interprets these as Elamite villages.

[21] The first writer listed, Abi-iaqia, also wrote directly to Sargon in *ABL* 422 (see below) and to the king's magnates in *ABL* 1112. See *PNA* 1/I, 11.

[22] Šama'ūnu was in or close to Rāšu (Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 286). See also Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 301-302 and M. Dietrich, *Aramäer*, 11 n. 6. Sargon's annals indicate that Šutruk-Nahhunte controlled Š/Sam(a)'ūnu for at least a brief time (Fuchs, *Sar.*, 150-51 Ann. 295 and 297).

[23] See *PNA* 1/I, 10-11.

[24] The very phrase used to describe it by *CAD* K, 9; compare *CAD* I/J, 324. For Indabiya, see *ElOn*, 17.

[25] The translation of *gabbi la kīnu libbīna* is uncertain; compare *CAD* K, 391: "they are all not really loyal."

firm this locale. As Assyria continually had problems with this region in the Sargonid period, the chronological possibilities for this letter are wide. But, within Sargon's reign, dates relative to the battle at Dēr (720), to Sargon's return to campaigning in the south (710), or to his activities in Ellipi (708) are possibilities.

ABL 422 also concerns Elam. Abi-iaqia reported that an individual named Natan had fled to Elam, but his men were yet with Abi-iaqia. Abi-iaqia indicated that Natan would not return, but his men would not flee if so ordered by the king. This letter provides an early reference of Elam as a popular refuge from Assyria, although it was not always a secure one.

Šutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699)

The Babylonian Chronicle reports that Huban-nikaš I died in the fifth year of Merodach-baladan and that he was succeeded by his "sister-son" (*mār ahā-tišu*) Ištarhundu (Elamite *Šutruk-Nahhunte*).[26] Šutruk-Nahhunte left at least two dedicatory inscriptions in Elamite at Susa: *EKI* 72 (*IRS* 57) and *EKI* 73 A, B, C.[27] The first is well-preserved. The second is not, but its formulaic nature makes some restorations in name and titulary possible.

In the Middle Elamite tradition, Šutruk-Nahhunte named himself "king of Anshan and Susa."[28] This titulary retained its cachet in the Neo-Elamite period, but a claim to Anshan in this period is curious. Archaeological evidence shows that the city of Anshan was abandoned by the tenth century.[29] The influx of Persians into Anshan presumably complicated Elamite rule there. The relationship between Iranians and Elamites in Fars remains one of the great conundrums of ancient Near Eastern history. The Persians were dominant in Fars by the mid-sixth century, if not before. Iranian ethnic elements were certainly present in Fars by the eighth century, but they are

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[26] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 74-75 i 38-40.

[27] See *IRS* 54-56 for three building inscriptions that Malbran-Labat attributes to Šutruk-Nahhunte II. M.-J. Steve, "Fragmenta Elamica," *Or.* 37 (1968), 292 dates them to the ME period. For *IRS* 57 (*EKI* 72), see also C. Montagne and F. Grillot-Susini, "Les inscriptions royales de Suse, Musée du Louvre..." *N.A.B.U.* 1996/1 (Mars), No. 33. *EKI* 71 and a parallel text published by P. Amiet, "Eléments émaillés du décor architectural néo-élamite," *Syria* 44 (1967), 37 are discussed in Appendix B. Their attribution to Šutruk-Nahhunte II has been challenged.

[28] *sunkik* ^h^*Anzan* ^h^*Šušunka likume rišakka katru Hatamtik.* "I am the king of Anshan and Susa, expander of the realm, ruler of Elam." *IRS* 57:1-2. *ElW*, 827 reads *liku.u+me* possessive rather than *liku+me* inanimate/abstract. See F. Grillot, "Trinôme de la royauté en Élam," *StIr* 13 (1984), 185-91 and *IRS*, pp. 176-79 for discussions of the titulary.

[29] Miroshedji, "La fin de l'Elam," 52-55 and E. Carter, "Bridging the gap between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzistan," *Achaemenid History VIII*, 65-95.

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elusive in the historical record.[30] Sennacherib's acknowledgment of an Anshan contingent among Huban-menanu's army at Halule suggests that the early Neo-Elamite kings retained some influence there – if not sovereignty – into the early seventh century (see below, p. 35). This gives some credence to Šutruk-Nahhunte II's titulary.

IRS 57:11 mentions Karindaš, which has been identified with modern Kerend (north of Islamabad).[31] Šutruk-Nahhunte made a dedication there, the context of which is ambiguous (ll. 9-12). If the identification of Karindaš with Kerend is correct, this inscription implies Elamite activity in the Diyala region of modern Kermanshah, along the eastern side of the Kabir Kuh. Conflict with Assyria in this region (i.e., ancient Ellipi) confirms Elamite influence there. The only other toponym occurring in Šutruk-Nahhunte's inscriptions is Hupšan (*EKI* 73 A: 9), which was probably in Susiana.[32]

IRS 57 presents a genealogical quandary. Lines 4-7 list three kings who preceded Šutruk-Nahhunte II: Huteluduš-Inšušinak, Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar, and Huban-immena.[33] Huteluduš-Inšušinak and Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar were sons of Šilhak-Inšušinak I, and Huteluduš-Inšušinak was king in the late eleventh century.[34] Huban-immena is listed in lines 1-2 as Šutruk-Nahhunte's father. With Huteluduš-Inšušinak and Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar, Šutruk-Nahhunte II established a link to the Middle Elamite kingdom, and his use of Middle Elamite titulary highlighted this link.

According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Huban-nikaš I preceded Šutruk-Nahhunte on the Elamite throne.[35] Huban-immena's position in the Elamite hierarchy is unknown, since he left no surviving record and he is unattested in Mesopotamian sources. He may have been a member of the royal family, a local ruler of part of the kingdom subservient to Huban-nikaš, or perhaps even a monarch of a rival Elamite kingdom. These possibilities are speculative, and all that might be said with confidence is that Huban-immena was a man of some status to be married to the sister of the king (Huban-nikaš I). By placing Huban-immena in the company of Huteluduš-Inšušinak and Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar, Šutruk-Nahhunte legitimized his patrilineal descent.[36]

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[30] See T. C. Young, "The early history of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid Empire to the death of Cambyses," *CAH²*, Vol. IV, ed. J. Boardman et al. (Cambridge, 1988), 4-23 and W. Sumner, "Archaeological measures of cultural continuity and the arrival of the Persians in Fars," *Achaemenid History VIII*, 97-105

[31] Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 131.

[32] Ibid., 104. Vallat rejects the hypothesis that Hupšan is the modern Deh-e Now. *ElW* restores this toponym – *hu-up-[še-en]* – in *EKI* 74 II 45/46.

[33] This passage also contains many difficulties in translation. Compare the citations in *ElW*, 1090 (*sir-ma-pu*) and 202 (*pi-it-te-nai*) with *IRS* 57 and Montagne and Grillot-Susini, "Les inscriptions royales de Suse, Musée du Louvre..."

[34] Huteluduš-Inšušinak's inscriptions are published in *EKI* 60-65 (*IRS* 51-53 for *EKI* 60-62). Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar is named as Huteluduš-Inšušinak's brother numerous times in Šilhak-Inšušinak I's inscriptions (e.g., *IRS* 47 and 50). Among the numerous progeny listed in Šilhak-Inšušinak I's inscriptions, no Huban-immena is found.

[35] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 74-75 i 38-40.

[36] *IRS*, pp. 135-36.

W. Hinz rejects the notion that Huban-immena was Šutruk-Nahhunte's father. Instead, he believes that Huban-immena was also a Middle Elamite ruler, and he interprets *šak* as "descendant" in this context rather than its usual sense as "son."[37] There is no evidence for a king Huban-immena at the end of the Middle Elamite period. Without additional documentation, it is premature to assume that Šutruk-Nahhunte II referred to any other Huban-immena than his father.

The Stele of Šutruru (*EKI* 74) is usually dated to Šutruk-Nahhunte II's reign.[38] The name Šutruk-Nahhunte appears in three places: II 2/3, 12/13, and 18. Paleography and syllabary suggest a date in the late eighth to early seventh centuries.[39] The beginning and end of each side are broken, so the transition between the sides is not evident. The stele contains accountings of transactions of cattle and land, the dedication of statues, and offerings involving the high priest Šutruru (*bašišu* GAL,[40] though the term *šatin*, translated "priest," also occurs) and other individuals.

A Šutruru appears prominently in the inscriptions of Kūl-e Farah and Šikaft-e Salmān (*EKI* 75 and 76), but this may be a homonymous individual. This Šutruru is labeled the *ragipal* (*EKI* 75 B, 76:12) and the *nisikkir* (*EKI* 75 C), though two individuals may be of concern here as well. A fragmentary tablet of uncertain date, consisting primarily of a list of names and probably administrative in nature, also names a Šutruru (*MDP* 11, 299 r. 10). This reference is without context.[41]

To return to *EKI* 74, two individuals, Irhahpu (I 15) and Duhurlik (I 18), appear to be in charge of particular regions (*murun*ᴹᴱˢ), which are not indicated, unless these proper names refer to tribal groups. Elamite has no determinative comparable to Akkadian LÚ. Both proper names have the vertical wedge as determinative, and both are suffixed with *-inna*.[42] They appear in identical contexts, each providing Šutruru with eighteen cattle.

Kurputtu (I 9) has been identified with the city Kirbītu in eastern Babylonia.[43] Tin-sunki (Akkadian *Dīn-šarri*) occurs twice in this text (II 22/23, 24/25), twice in the Susa Acropolis texts,[44] and in a text dated to the end of the seventh century.[45] Its exact location is unknown, but it was in the environs of Susa.[46] Zamin (II 30, partially restored) occurs in the Nineveh letters,[47] but its location also is uncertain. It appears that much of the activity described in the Stele of Šutruru occurred in Susiana.[48]

Mesopotamian sources relate Šutruk-Nahhunte II's military and political activities. Assyrian-Elamite conflict resumed in 710, when Sargon campaigned along the Babylonian-Elamite frontier in southeastern Babylonia. Some letters dated to Sargon's reign indicate these activities. *ABL* 799+ (*CT* 53, 89+) mentions Dēr (l. 4, top edge 2) and the king of Elam's movement to Bīt-Bunakki and then into the mountains two days later (ll. 8-11). The wider context of this report is unclear, because the right side of the tablet is broken away. Numerous references to fortresses (l. 5, 13; r. 5; left edge 1) indicate military concerns.[49] A passage in the annals parallels this report, noting that Šutruk-Nahhunte fled into the mountains to escape Sargon's attack.[50] *ABL*

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without the suffix *-inna* Compare II 26-27: 15 *murun* ᵛ*teppirmi*. Unlike the two references on side I, more than one *murun* is indicated here, and no MEŠ follows it. The *-inna* is also lacking after the citation, although *-mi* (variant of *-me*) can also act as a genitive suffix – thus reading *teppir*+*-mi* (*ElW*, 312).

[43] *EKI* 74, p. 150 n. 7 and *ElW*, 566. Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 150 provides no other citations for this toponym in Elamite texts. See Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 286 and Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 256 for additional references in Assyrian and Babylonian texts. Frame, *Babylonia*, 118 n. 88 describes Kirbītu as "possibly near Pušt-i-Kūh."

[44] *MDP* 9, 253 r. 3 and 254:6, partially restored in both places.

[45] M. Lambert, "Deux textes élamites de la fin du septième siècle," *JA* 265 (1977), 221, Text A: 11.

[46] Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 57 and references; Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 105. Ashurbanipal's annals place Dīn-Šarri near Susa, Bupila, and Kabnak (*BIWA*, 50 A v 85 and F iv 37). *EKI* 74 II 22/23 places Tin-sunki in the *gilu* ("Bezirk"?; see *ElW*, 475) Kubarana. König (*EKI*, p. 153 n. 15) identifies Kubarana with the Qabrina(ma) (see Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 282; *Rép. geogr.* 11, 142 reads "Kubaranma") of Ashurbanipal's annals. Editions A (v 56) and F (iv 10) of Ashurbanipal's annals list both Qabrina and Qabrinama among such conquered cities as Samuna (Šama'ūnu) and Bupila, both within the environs of Susa (*BIWA*, 49).

[47] Nin 5:2, 29, Nin 15:13-14.

[48] *ElW* locates many of the toponyms unattested elsewhere – Lahtie (I 28), Durapuhši (II 31), Ratumanna (II 32), Kunihiša (II 38), Zamanali (II 41) – in Lullu; see the respective references in *ElW* and Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11. The only toponyms not preceded by a determinative (AŠ or *hal*ᴹᴱˢ) are Hup[šan] in II 45/46 (restored by *ElW*, 722; compare *EKI* 73 A: 9) and Kuparana (II 40, 44). Vallat *Rép. géogr.* 11 provides separate headings for Kuparana and Kubaranma (II 23). Interpreting the *-ma* as a locative and *pá* for *ba* of Kubaranma results in the reading Kuparana.

[49] In the fragmentary *CT* 53, 455; the king of Elam appears in the context of Bīt-Bunakki (ll. 12-13), and Dēr occurs in r. 10′ (also a probable restoration in r. 9′).

[50] Fuchs, *Sar.*, 152 Ann. 303-304.

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[37] *Lost World*, 141. M.-J. Steve et al., "La Susiane au deuxième millénaire: à propos d'une interprètation des fouilles de Suse," *IA* 15 (1980), 106 also differentiate the Huban-immena of *EKI* 72:6/7 from Šutruk-Nahhunte II's father. Used alone, however, *šak* never seems to indicate anything other than "son." For a discussion of the various terms of filiation, see *IRS*, pp. 171-76 and F. Vallat, "Nouveaux problemes de succession en Élam," *IA* 32 (1997), 53-70.

[38] Found at Susa. König (*EKI*) uses the labels "Schmalseite" and "Breitseite." After Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, König's "Schmalsiete" is labeled herein -I- and "Breitseite" -II-.

[39] Steve, *Syllabaire*, 21.

[40] Reading *ba* as *pá* provides Akkadian *pašīšu rabû* (*ElW*, 165).

[41] Steve, *Syllabaire*, 21 dates *EKI* 74, 75, and 76 to the Neo-Elamite II period (c. 750-653). Note his remarks in "La fin de l'Élam: à propos d'une empreinte de sceau-cylindre," *StIr* 15 (1986), 15. The dates of these inscriptions are open to debate and will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

[42] See Grillot, "La postposition genitive -na en Élamite," *DAFI* 3 (1973), 135-41, especially 139 for discussion of reinforced nominal suffixes. In Neo-Elamite, the sign MEŠ serves to mark the preceding sign(s) as a logogram or pseudo-logogram (Steve, *Syllabaire*, 162, No. 533). The construct *murun*ᴹᴱˢ PN occurs in I 5 regarding Šutruru,

800 also mentions Dēr and the king of Elam, but it is even more fragmentary.[51] The author of both these letters, Šamaš-bēl-uṣur, was probably the eponym for 710 BC, who is further identified as the governor of Arzuḫina (^{LÚ}šakin ^{KUR}Arzuḫina).[52]

As Sargon campaigned further into the southeast, numerous Aramean cities and villages along the Uknû River submitted.[53] There is no indication that these areas were under direct Elamite control, but they were a cauldron of anti-Assyrian activity. Sargon mentions two specific fortresses – Sam'una and Bāb-dūri – as those that Šutruk-Naḫḫunte built in the vicinity of Yadbur,[54] but these defensive fortifications were to no avail. Among the booty taken by the Assyrians – 7250 Elamites (soldiers?) and 12,062 people (nišê) – the commanders (rab ḫalṣē) of these fortresses are named: Sa-x-nu and Singamšibu. Sargon also imprisoned six chiefs of Yadbur, whose names are not given, four from Laḫiru and two from Sulaya.[55] Numerous cities conquered by Sargon, including Sam'una and Bāb-dūri mentioned above, were identified as part of Yadbur, which was further described as part of Elam.[56] Mention of Yadbur with the Ḫindaru and Puqudu in the context of Sargon's capture of Gambulu signals a location in southeastern Babylonia. References to the Uknû (modern Kharkheh or Karun) and Tubliaš (modern Nahr-aṭ-Ṭib) rivers occur in the same context.[57]

Merodach-baladan quit Babylon in the face of this Assyrian advance, and he again sought assistance from Elam. He fled to Yadbur and attempted to secure his safety with sumptuous gifts. Šutruk-Naḫḫunte accepted the gifts but then (ostensibly in fear of Assyrian might) refused Merodach-baladan's

request and left him to Sargon.[58] Once Sargon secured Babylonia, he fortified the border between Elam and Babylonia, specifically at the city Sagbat upon the frontier of Elam. Sargon had a fortress constructed there, but he did not take any territory in Elam.[59] Whether Sargon was unwilling or unable to pursue the war effectively into Elam remains unknown, but he clearly anticipated further problems. Even with Babylonia cowed, Elam remained a serious threat on Assyria's eastern borders.

This threat soon manifested itself once again. Daltâ, king of Ellipi, died in 708. His nephews – Nibê and Ašpa-bara – struggled for the throne. Nibê sought aid from Šutruk-Naḫḫunte and Ašpa-bara from Sargon. Ašpa-bara made the wiser decision, as Sargon's annals relate how Nibê and his Elamite supporters fled to the fortress Marubištu in the mountains. Sargon's troops defeated Nibê and his partisans and retook Marubištu.[60] ABL 1469 and CT 53, 823 and 462 concern Ašpa-bara and Lutû (a son of Daltâ) and the situation in Ellipi, but all are fragmentary.[61] CT 53, 110+ probably dates to this time, reporting that a son of Daltâ went to the king of Elam (lines 12-13). Ellipi came under direct Assyrian influence.

CT 53, 76 may also provide a glimpse into Nibê and Ašpa-bara's struggle. The letter touts Urammu as an excellent place to set up camp.[62] Conflict with Elam is indicated directly (ll. 9'f), as Urammu was described as a safe haven from Elamite troops. Mention of Sumurzu (l. 20') indicates a location in the central Zagros near Ellipi.[63] This context – conflict with Elam in the central Zagros – reflects the annals' account of the nephews of Daltâ.

By the late eighth century, Elam's influence (if not direct political control) in Luristan was limited by Assyrian expansion, and Sargon's involvement in

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[51] Brinkman, "Elamite Military Aid," 163 n. 18 "possibly" links ABL 1348, which reports that the Elamite king was at Burāti, to this sequence. For Burāti, see Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms, 95 and compare p. 73 (Birāti). Burāti has no other attestation, though Birāti has several.

[52] See Millard, Eponyms, 118 for references. Arzuḫina has been identified as modern Gok Tepe on the Lower Zab (S. Parpola, The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West, SAA I [Helsinki, 1987], 236).

[53] Fuchs, Sar., 147-48 Ann. 286-288. See Stolper, Elam, 46 and Brinkman, Prelude, 50-52. For the Arameans, see Brinkman, Political History, 267-85 and Frame, Babylonia, 43-48.

[54] Fuchs, Sar., 150 Ann. 295 reading ir(!)-ku-su. Compare l. 17 (Ann. 297), wherein Sargon claimed to have taken Sam'una/Šama'ūna again (ana eššūte). Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 286 locates Sama'una (Šama'ūnu) near Rāšu in southeastern Babylonia.

[55] Fuchs, Sar., 151, Ann. 298-300.

[56] Ibid., 152 Ann. 307. Compare another enumeration of conquered cities (ibid., 151 Ann. 300 ll. 3f), listing Laḫiru ša ^{KUR}Ya-a-di-bi-ri just before and separate from four alāni dunnūti ša ^{KUR}Ya-ad-bu-ri. These different citations and spellings suggest that two different regions are meant (compare ibid., 439-40). See Brinkman, Political History, 178 n. 1093 on the location of Laḫiru and compare Frame, Babylonia, 204 and notes. If Yādibiri is separate from Yadbur, they may not be far removed from each other. Note also the passage regarding Laḫiru of Idibirina in Tiglath-pileser III's annals, which indicates a location in southeastern Babylonia (Tadmor, Tiglath-pileser III, 160).

[57] Fuchs, Sar., 145-46 Ann. 279n-284 ll. 1-4.

[58] Ibid., 152-55 Ann. 306-314.

[59] Ibid., 170 Ann. 381-383 ll. 16f. Compare the toponym Bīt-Sagbat (Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms, 298). L. Levine, "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros-II," Iran 12 (1974), 110, places Bīt-Sagbat in the region between Lake Zeribor and the Mahidasht. The same passage in the annals continues with Sargon dividing the region where Sagbat was located between the governors of Babylon and Gambulu, which indicates that Sagbat lay in southeastern Babylonia and must be distinguished from Bīt-Sagbat.

[60] Fuchs, Sar., 179-81 Ann. 412-422 and 224-25 Prunk 118-121; see Cameron, HEI, 161 and Stolper, Elam, 46. ABL 1315 mentions Dilbat (l. 5); the king of Elam (l. 12); several sheikhs (nasīkāni) (l. 13); Pillatu (l. 14); a "son of Daltâ" (Lutû?) (l. 23); and a certain Ummanminaya(?) (r. 9), whom Waterman identifies as the Huban-menanu who became king of Elam in 692 (RCAE III, 343).

[61] These letters are published in Parpola, SAA I, Nos. 16, 14, and 17, respectively. See the entries for Daltâ and Ašpa-bara in PNA 1/II, 373 and 1/I, 143, respectively. Near the end of the fragmentary text 81-2-4,320, entitled "Epic of Sargon II," Ellipians and Anshanites (both geographic names suffixed with a gentilic) are mentioned in broken context (A. Livingstone, Court Poetry and Literary Miscellania, SAA III [Helsinki, 1989], No. 18).

[62] Parpola, SAA I, No. 13. Urammu is otherwise unattested, but it may be equivalent to Nuzi Ulammu; see SAA I, note for No. 13.

[63] Sumurzu is mentioned in lists of areas defeated by Tiglath-pileser III such as Namri and Bīt-Ḫamban. See Tadmor, Tiglath-pileser III, 304 for citations.

this region set the stage for further Assyrian gains. An Assyrian military threat probably existed along most of Elam's western border.[64] Iranian groups (primarily Medes and Persians) to the north, east, and south may also have been cause for concern, but the textual material sheds little light on these issues. The full geographic extent of Elam's reach is impossible to determine, especially to the east.

Šutruk-Nahhunte II plagued Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib as well. Perhaps the only enemy more annoying to the Assyrians than the Elamite king during this period was Merodach-baladan. Notwithstanding Šutruk-Nahhunte's earlier snub (see above), they combined their efforts again. Merodach-baladan reclaimed the Babylonian throne in 703, and Sennacherib moved to contest him.[65] This time Šutruk-Nahhunte did aid Merodach-baladan.

The battles were fought near Kish and Kutha in Mesopotamia proper. Three individuals were the leaders of the Elamite force: Imbappi (Elamite *Huban-api*?[66]) the Elamite *turtānu*; Tannānu the *tašlīšu*-official; and the Sutian Nergal-nāṣir.[67] The Elamite contingents played the major role at the battle of Kish. Indeed, Tannānu was in command of the combined armies[68] – indicating Elam's preeminent role in this struggle against Assyria. Šutruk-Nahhunte wished to maintain a buffer zone and to increase Elamite influence at Assyria's expense. If Elam had any territorial pretensions in Mesopotamia, they are not obvious. The battle at Kish, though, was not a mere border dispute. Elam and Babylonia may have sought to test the new Assyrian monarch. If there was a perceived threat of Assyrian expansion, Elam may have seized upon any reasonable opportunity to thwart such advances. This interpretation rests upon the preponderance of Mesopotamian source material, however. It is difficult to ascertain Elamite strategic considerations without comparable Elamite sources.

According to Sennacherib's description, all of Babylonia was aflame with war. After some initial difficulty, he defeated the Elamite-Babylonian forces. He then advanced and took Babylon itself.[69] This account is contradicted by

a passage in the Babylonian Chronicle: "He (Sennacherib) did not scatter the Babylonians."[70] This deliberate statement implies that the defeat of the Elamite-Babylonian coalition at Kish did not signal the end of the matter. Sennacherib continued his campaign in the south in order to pacify the entire region – or at least to make the attempt.[71]

Sennacherib installed Bēl-ibni, a Babylonian who had been raised at the Assyrian court, as king in Babylon in 703.[72] In 700 Sennacherib had him removed and returned to Assyria. The Babylonian Chronicle reports that Sennacherib plundered Akkad before Bēl-ibni was seized, implying that his protégé was either disloyal or incompetent. It is unknown if there was widespread rebellion or if this was a small-scale punitive operation. In Bēl-ibni's place, Sennacherib made his son Ashur-nādin-šumi (the crown prince), the king of Babylon.[73]

Three letters from the Kuyunjik collection (*ABL* 283 and 793; *CT* 54, 304) are often assumed to have been authored by Bēl-ibni, king of Babylon.[74] They are almost identical in content, except that *ABL* 283 is addressed to the chief eunuch (*rab ša rēši*) and *ABL* 793 to the king.[75] The letters reflect Bēl-ibni's chagrin that enemies from Elam have slandered him before the king (283:5f; 793:6f). He showed great concern for his status in the king's eyes (283:16f; 793:6'f) and among the Babylonians "his brothers" (283 r. 10'f; 793 r. 11'f). Bēl-ibni asked for a sign of confidence from the king, and, on behalf of himself and his entourage (brothers, sons, and friends), he swore fealty to the king (283 r. 12'f; 793 r. 14'f).

Bēl-ibni's complaints of intrigue provide provocative references to aspects of Elamite-Assyrian relations about which we know little. These Elamites (or perhaps non-Elamites operating from Elam?) acted "for their own purposes" (*ana ṣabāt abbūti ša ramānišunu*) and denounced (*akālu* + *karṣi*) Bēl-ibni, sending evil rumors (*dibbī bišūti*) to the king. The details of the slander are not supplied nor does Bēl-ibni mention the antagonists' names, referring to them only as his enemies. Thus, it is difficult to even speculate at the motives involved or the magnitude of the incident.

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[64] See A. Kuhrt's discussion of the aftermath of Sargon's victory in Babylonia, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000-300 BC*, Vol. II (London and New York, 1995), 582.

[65] Brinkman, *Prelude*, 57 and n. 266, rejecting Levine's chronology of these events in "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 30f. The following is related from the account of Sennacherib's first campaign in Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 48-52 and S. Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, B.C. 705-681* (London, 1921).

[66] So *ElOn*, 6 and 12; cf. *ElW*, 49 (*am-ba-ap-[pi]*): *Huban-ahpi*. For Imbappi, see *PNA* 1/I, 99, "Ambappi."

[67] Akkadian *turtānu* is generally translated as "general, commander-in-chief" or the like. See F. Malbran-Labat, *L'Armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1982), 146-52; *AHw*, 1332 ("Mann an 2. Stelle"): *ta/urtānu*; and W. Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrier* (Münster, 1995), 434. For *tašlīšu*, see *AHw*, 1339 ("3. Mann auf dem Kampfwagen"). Brinkman, "Elamite Military Aid," 165 n. 43 remarks that the implication of these titles, when given to foreign military officials, is uncertain.

[68] Smith, *Sennacherib*, 62-63 l. 27; see Brinkman, "Elamite Military Aid," 164f.

[69] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 51-52 ll. 30-33.

[70] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 77 ii 19.

[71] See Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 37f for discussion.

[72] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 54 l. 54 and Grayson, *Chronicles*, 77 ii 23. See Brinkman, *Prelude*, 58 and n. 275 (for the chronological problems concerning Bēl-ibni's installation as king) and M. Dietrich, "Bēl-ibni, König von Babylon (703-700)," in *dubsar anta-men: Studien zur Altorientalistik*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (Münster, 1998), 81-108.

[73] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 77 ii 26-31.

[74] See Parpola, "Assyrian Royal Inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian Letters," *ARINH*, 119 n. 1 and compare J. Brinkman, "Bēl-ibni's Letters in the Time of Sargon and Sennacherib," *RA* 77 (1983), 175-76. See also Dietrich, "Bēl-ibni," for these and other letters attributed to Bēl-ibni, king of Babylon.

[75] The third letter (*CT* 54, 304) is only a fragment, but the extant lines indicate that it covers the same concerns. See Brinkman, "Bēl-ibni's Letters," 175 n. 5 and Dietrich, "Bēl-ibni," 89-95.

In 702, Sennacherib campaigned against Ellipi and its king, Ašpa-bara. The latter had appealed to Sargon previously in the struggle to attain the throne over Nibê, who was supported by Šutruk-Nahhunte II. Sennacherib defeated Ašpa-bara and razed his royal residences (*alāni bīt šarrūtīšu*), Marubištu and Akkuddu, and several other cities and villages. Further, Sennacherib annexed the district of Bīt-Barrû, part of Ellipi, to Assyria and placed it under the jurisdiction of the governor of Ḫarḫar.[76] Thus Elam's northern flank fell further under Assyrian domination. Elamite influence remained in Ellipi even after Nibê had been defeated, and this influence may have steered Ašpa-bara away from his Assyrian loyalties. Ellipi was later counted among the forces arrayed with the Elamite king Huban-menanu at Ḫalule in 691, and this indicates that Sennacherib's pacification of Ellipi did not last.

Sennacherib returned to the south in 700 to pursue Merodach-baladan. Along the way, he temporarily removed the threat of another Chaldean, Šūzubu.[77] Turning to Merodach-baladan, Sennacherib put him to flight to Nagītu, "in the middle of the sea" (*ša qabal tâmtim*).[78] Failing to capture Merodach-baladan, Sennacherib plundered Bīt-Yakīn and seized some members of Merodach-baladan's family. Sennacherib did not invade Elamite territory at this time, and Šutruk-Nahhunte took no recorded action against Sennacherib. Whether Elam provided support for the Babylonian cause is unknown, but it would not be surprising in view of their recent history. The king of Elam is called here Merodach-baladan's "ally" (*bēl salīmi*), and, presumably, the use of this term implied at least an expectation of Elamite aid. Without providing specifics, Sennacherib claimed only that he struck terror into the king of Elam.[79] Šutruk-Nahhunte's inability to thwart these Assyrian advances may have cost him his throne.[80]

Ḫallušu (699-693) (*Hallutaš-Inšušinak?*)

The Babylonian Chronicle reports that Ḫallušu "seized" (*ṣabātu*) his brother Šutruk-Nahhunte and "shut the door in his face" (*bāba ina pānišu ipḫi*).[81]

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[76] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 59 ll. 27-32 and 68 ll. 13-16. For Bīt-Barrû/Barrua, see Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 79.

[77] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 34-35 l. 71. Šūzubu returned approximately seven years later, appearing in the annals under his formal name Mušēzib-Marduk; see Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, 26-27 and Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 40-41.

[78] Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, 27 and n. 152 states that it was probably swampy land in the region of Elam reached by crossing the Persian Gulf. See also Brinkman, *FHE*, 203 and Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 233.

[79] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 35 ll. 70-71. See Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 41.

[80] Stolper, *Elam*, 47.

[81] See Grayson, *Chronicles*, 77 ii 32-33 and commentary, where he suggests that this phrase is an idiom meaning "He threw him in prison." Compare *CAD* B, 16: "His brother PN seized RN, the king of Elam, and sealed the door on him" and A. L. Oppenheim:

This phrase recurs in the same text (col. iii, 6f). In this instance, the subjects of Ḫallušu similarly "shut the door in his face" and then killed him. This phrase occurs only in this text and only with regard to Ḫallušu. It may be better rendered: "He shut the gate before him,"[82] referring to banishment. Ḫallušu fell victim to a similar fate as his predecessor – a type of "poetic justice" meted out as vengeance, perhaps.

Traditionally, the Ḫallušu of various Mesopotamian texts is identified with the Elamite Hallutaš-Inšušinak, who commemorated his rule with several copies of a building inscription, a dedication to Inšušinak found at Susa.[83] Naming himself the son of Huban-tahra (Akkadian *Umbadarâ*) Hallutaš-Inšušinak presents a genealogical conundrum, if the Ḫallušu - Hallutaš-Inšušinak identification is to be maintained. The Babylonian Chronicle names Ḫallušu as the brother of Ištarḫundu (Šutruk-/Šutur-Nahhunte). Šutruk-Nahhunte named himself the son of Huban-immena. A literal reading of the respective monarchs' Elamite inscriptions discounts the possibility of a fraternal relation, at least one engendered by the same father. Various explanations may be put forward to reconcile this discrepancy:

> 1) Either Ištarḫundu or Ḫallušu (or both) of the Babylonian Chronicle cannot be identified with the Šutruk/Šutur-Nahhunte or the Hallutaš-Inšušinak of *EKI* 71-73 and *IRS* 58 (*EKI* 77), respectively.
>
> 2) Elamite *šak* must be translated as "descendant" rather than "son" in *IRS* 58.
>
> 3) The compilers of the Babylonian Chronicle confused Ištarḫundu and Ḫallušu's relationship.
>
> 4) Šutruk-Nahhunte/Ištarḫundu and Hallutaš-Inšušinak/Ḫallušu's mother had at least two husbands, and her sons emphasized their respective, patrilineal descent.

Analysis:

1) *EKI* 71-73 are typically assigned to the Šutur-naḫundi of Sargon's and Sennacherib's annals and the Ištarḫundu of the Babylonian Chronicle, i.e.,

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"Hallushu, the brother of Ishtarhundu, king of Elam, seized him [i.e., Ishtarhundu] and closed up the door (of his palace) in front of him." (*ANET*, 301, with the note: "The meaning of this phrase... remains obscure.")

[82] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 158. Some similar examples are found in *ABL* 804 r. 5, "Sippar is a door which is [closed] in our face" (*CAD* D, 55) and Borger, *Asar.*, 53 "like a door before Elam I locked it" (*CAD* E, 25). See also A. L. Oppenheim, " 'Siege-Documents' from Nippur," *Iraq* 17 (1955), 76f and n. 22. None of these passages, however, offers a direct parallel.

[83] *EKI* 77 and *IRS* 58. See also M. J. Steve, *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques: Inscriptions royales de Suse et de la Susiane*, MDP 53 (Nice, 1987), No. 25. Akkadian Ḫallušu is probably a shortening of Elamite Hallutaš-Inšušinak (see *ElOn*, 8 and *ElW*, 602), but this is not explicitly confirmed by any of the sources. For the identification of Ḫallušu with this Hallutaš-Inšušinak, see Cameron *HEI*, 163; Hinz, *Lost World*, 147-49; and Stolper, *Elam*, 47.

Šutruk-Nahhunte II (see Appendix B). The connection between the Ḫalluŝu of Akkadian texts and the Elamite Hallutaš-Inšušinak of *IRS* 58 is not obvious. As noted above, a straightforward reading of the texts disallows the identification, because the two kings name different fathers in their inscriptions. But, at least in texts from earlier periods, there are several instances where filiation was not always straightforward.[84] A classic example occurred at the end of the Middle Elamite period with the reign of Huteluduš-Inšušinak (a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar I, 1125-1104), who was sired by Nahhunte-Utu and her father Šutruk-Nahhunte I. Thus, Huteluduš-Inšušinak was a full brother (and nephew) of Kutir-Nahhunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak. When Kutir-Nahhunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak married Nahhunte-Utu in succession, Huteluduš-Inšušinak also became the son of each. Primary legitimacy to the throne passed through the king's daughter, and thus Huteluduš-Inšušinak became king when he was of age.[85]

A parallel to this involved relationship may be applied to this eighth century dilemma. Huban-tahra had at least two sons, Huban-nikaš and Hallutaš-Inšušinak, and a daughter. Šutruk-Nahhunte II was a son of Huban-tahra's daughter by Huban-immena (from the extended royal family? or perhaps from another dynasty?) and thus a legitimate heir. This turn perhaps did not sit well with Hallutaš-Inšušinak, a younger brother of Huban-nikaš, and his discontent manifested itself in conflict. Such a hypothesis, which is admittedly speculative, allows the identification of the Hallutaš-Inšušinak of *IRS* 58 with the Ḫalluŝu of the Babylonian Chronicle and Sennacherib's inscriptions. The Chronicle's account of the Elamite succession (see above) is then explicable in light of discord within the royal family, but its identification of Ḫalluŝu as the brother of Šutruk-Nahhunte still argues against a Ḫalluŝu - Hallutaš-Inšušinak identification.

2) Translating *šak* as "descendant" allows reconciliation of the Babylonian Chronicle and the Elamite royal inscriptions, but this would be the only such use of *šak* in the royal inscriptions.[86] Arbitrarily altering its translation in *EKI* 72 (*IRS* 57) creates more problems than it solves.

3) There is the possibility, seldom raised, that the Chronicle is in error. On this assumption, König interprets the situation thus:[87] Huban-tahra and Huban-immena were married to the same woman, who bore Huban-nikaš and Hallutaš-Inšušinak to the former and Šutruk-Nahhunte II to the latter. Thus the Chronicle (i 40) is wrong in naming Šutruk-Nahhunte II as the sister-son

of Huban-nikaš but correct in naming Ḫalluŝu/Hallutaš-Inšušinak and Šutruk-Nahhunte II as (half-) brothers (ii 32f). In fact, all three would have been brothers. The Babylonian Chronicle's sources for Neo-Elamite history are unknown, but an assumption of error in the Chronicle, without firm corroboration, is not ideal.[88] But such an error would not be too surprising in describing the involved relationships among early Neo-Elamite royalty.

One way out of these difficulties is to expand upon the theory laid out in Number 1 above, focusing on the unnamed mother (presumably the daughter of Huban-tahra) of Šutruk-Nahhunte II. This same woman, then, was the mother of Hallutaš-Inšušinak but by Huban-tahra himself, just as Huteluduš-Inšušinak was the son of Šutruk-Nahhunte I by his daughter Nahhunte-Utu. Thus, Šutruk-Nahhunte/Ištarhundu (son of Huban-immena and Huban-tahra's daughter) and Hallutaš-Inšušinak/Ḫalluŝu (son of Huban-tahra by his daughter) would have been brothers, and Šutruk-Nahhunte/Ištarhundu would have also been the nephew of Hallutaš-Inšušinak/Ḫalluŝu. As the preceding discussion reveals, the identification of Ḫalluŝu with Hallutaš-Inšušinak is not impossible, especially in the context of Elamite incestuous relations among the royal family. The question remains open. In light of the difficulties, the Akkadian *Ḫalluŝu* is used in the following, except with regard to discussion of the Elamite inscription of Hallutaš-Inšušinak.

Hallutaš-Inšušinak does not use the title "king" (*sunki*) in his inscription. This is curious, although it is not unique.[89] Anshan and Susa play a prominent role in his titulary, not in the formula "king of Anshan and Susa," but rather in the expression "I expanded the realm of Anshan and Susa" (ʰ*Anzan* ʰ*Šušun likumena rišah*). This expression was used during the Middle Elamite period and appears in the Neo-Elamite inscriptions *EKI* 71 and 72 (*IRS* 57), though with final -*k* rather than -*h* as used in *IRS* 58. Hallutas-Inšušinak's use of final verbal -*h* and the -*na* suffix, along with *šá* instead of *ša* and the determinative BE in place of the vertical wedge,[90] leads Vallat to reject the Ḫalluŝu – Hallutaš-Inšušinak identification and date Hallutaš-Inšušinak to the sixth century. His orthographic remarks are germane, but they are only imperfectly utilized as dating criteria.[91]

Three Neo-Babylonian texts relate to the reign of Ḫalluŝu.[92] PTS 2713 dates to Ḫalluŝu's first year (XI/2/1). The date of VAT 3146 (*VAS* 4, No. 1) is broken away. Both of these texts deal with loans of silver. A 33248 concerns

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[84] For example, see the discussions of Y. Yusifov, "The Problem of the Order of the Succession in Elam Again," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1974), 321-32; *IRS*, pp. 165-79; and F. Vallat, "Nouveaux problemes de succession en Élam," *IA* 32 (1997), 53-70.

[85] F. Vallat, "Susa and Susiana in Second-Millennium Iran," *CANE*, Vol. II, 1029. Compare *IRS*, p. 176.

[86] The Huteluduš-Inšušinak case may provide another such instance, but Vallat's theory sufficiently discounts the need to translate *šak* as anything other than "son" in that context. See above, p. 18 n. 37.

[87] "Geschwisterehe in Elam," *RlA* 3, 225-26 and *EKI*, p. 168 n. 10.

[88] For a discussion of the textual tradition of the Babylonian Chronicle, see Brinkman, "The Babylonian Chronicle Revisited."

[89] In extant Neo-Elamite inscriptions, only Šutruk-Nahhunte II (and Šutur-Nahhunte, if he is viewed as a separate individual; see Appendix B), Šilhak-Inšušinak II, and Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak use the title "king" (*sunki*) in their titulary.

[90] M.-J. Steve reads GAM (*Syllabaire*, 161 No. 480).

[91] "Nouvelle analyse," 390 and 393 and *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VIII, 309-11. Neo-Elamite titulary does not consistently maintain regular grammatical or orthographic patterns.

[92] See J. A. Brinkman and D. A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for Early Neo-Babylonian Society," *JCS* 35 (1983), 60-61.

the adoption of a girl, dated XII/15/15. The Babylonian Chronicle is unambiguous in assigning a six year reign to Ḫallušu. Any deviation from that span, much less one of nine years, poses significant questions. Assuming no scribal error, one must account for a fifteen-year (at least) reign for Ḫallušu or postulate a later reign of a homonymous king.

The Babylonian Chronicle assigns Ḫallušu's death to 693.[93] Thus, from the years 708 (if not before) to 698, Ḫallušu must have been something other than *šar Elamti* (from the chroniclers' perspective) – perhaps a local or regional ruler. If A 33248 is connected to the Ḫallušu in question (who reigned, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, from 699-693), its date formula may indicate a fractured Elam, organized around various political centers.[94] The scribe may have included the total number of years that Ḫallušu ruled as a king (of a particular region and of Elam as a whole) – not just those six years in which he was the king of Elam as recognized by the Babylonian Chronicle. But there is no firm evidence for contemporaneous Neo-Elamite kingdoms until 653 (see below, pp. 54, 56).

A 33248 was found at Nippur but drawn up at Sumuntunaš(?),[95] which Ashurbanipal's annals describe as a royal city in context with Dīn-šarri, Pidilma, Bupila, and others[96] – cities in the environs of Susa. The origin of VAT 3146 is broken away. PTS 2713 was drafted at Bīt-Ḫulummu, the location of which is also uncertain, but it can perhaps be equated with Ḫilimmu (Ḫilmu) along the Babylonian-Elamite border. The existence of such stereotypically Babylonian documents dated to an Elamite king also warrants remark. The absence of Elamite names argues against their use by a long-established population. It is more likely that these documents reflect the presence of Aramean and Babylonian groups that dwelt all along the Elamite-Babylonian frontier. These documents were crafted in a format that would be legally binding in Babylonia, perhaps in expectation of a return there.[97]

Once Ḫallušu became king of Elam from the Babylonian Chronicle's perspective (699), he proved a capable foe of Sennacherib. Elamite-Assyrian conflict intensified during Ḫallušu's reign. In 694, Sennacherib moved against the Bīt-Yakīn refugees in Elam.[98] Sennacherib recorded that he acted against Nagītu and Nagītu-di'bina, described as territories of the king of Elam. The Chaldeans, Elamites, and their goods were taken as plunder. There are various versions of this assault in Sennacherib's inscriptions. In a bull inscription (F2) he claims to have conquered not only Nagītu and Nagītu-di'bina, but also Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and the province Ḫupapanu.[99]

At about the same time, Ḫallušu initiated a bold counter-attack into Babylonia to foil further Assyrian action in southern Elam. At the end of Tašrītu (VII) the Elamites devastated Sippar. Sennacherib's son Ashur-nādin-šumi was taken captive to Elam.[100] The Chronicle's account of this event is laconic, but a later letter sheds some light upon the situation in Babylon at the time.[101] The letter refers to malcontents who might foment trouble against Šamaš-šum-ukīn. Some of these troublemakers are described as the same people who handed Ashur-nādin-šumi over to Elam. This indicates an active party operating against Assyrian interests in Babylonia, even with the Chaldeans on the run in the south.

Thus, late in 694, an Elamite force was active in northern Babylonia, while an Assyrian army was in the south. Ḫallušu put Nergal-ušēzib on the Babylonian throne and effected an Assyrian retreat.[102] This Elamite success was short-lived. Sennacherib's inscriptions claim that the Assyrians fought the Elamites and forced them to retreat after killing Ḫallušu's son (whose name is not given).[103] The amount of time that elapsed between the Elamite actions in support of Nergal-ušēzib and this Assyrian counter-attack is unknown. Several months may have passed between the two incidents.

The account resumes during the month of Dûzu (IV) in 693, when Nergal-ušēzib plundered Nippur.[104] Whether Elam took an active role in this attack is unknown, but in light of their previous support of Nergal-ušēzib it would

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[93] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 79 iii 6-8.

[94] M. Stolper, "A Neo-Babylonian Text from the Reign of Ḫallušu," *FHE*, 239.

[95] See D. Weisberg, "The Length of the Reign of Hallushu-Inshushinak," *JAOS* 104 (1984), 215f, and Stolper, *FHE*, 235 and 238f, for discussion. Note Stolper's comments on the tablet's uncertain archival background: "other texts from the building and level to which 1N 297 = A 33248 is assigned date from the late years of Darius I, and they have no discernible connection with A 33248" (p. 239). Sumuntunaš does not appear – in a recognizable form – in any Elamite texts.

[96] *BIWA*, 50 A v 85 and F iv 37.

[97] Stolper, *FHE*, 238-39. Note "the assembly of Babylonians" mentioned in a text dated to Tammaritu (BM 79013), published by E. Leichty, "Bel-epuš and Tammaritu," *AnSt* 33 (1983), 153-55.

[98] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 73-76 ll. 48-106 and Grayson, *Chronicles*, 78 ii 36-45; see Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 41f.

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[99] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 76-78 and Grayson, "Sennacherib Inscription," 90, ll. 17f. These territories were likely the most important in that wider region, and their consistent inclusion throughout the inscriptions may be tantamount to Sennacherib's claim of control of the entire area. See the respective references in Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8 (and contrast *ElW*, describing these territories as Elamite).

[100] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 78 ii 39-42. See Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 42ff for discussion. Levine notes (p. 43) that the Šamaš-šum-ukīn Chronicle (Grayson, *Chronicles*, 128-30 l. 1) recorded that Anu-rabu, the god of Dēr, went from Dēr to Assyria. This occurred on XI/1/694 and was presumably a reaction to the Elamite presence nearby, which would have been viewed as a serious threat. Levine also cites *VAS* 4, No. 1 (VAT 3146; see above) as evidence of Elamite presence in Sippar/Babylon, but its date and provenience are broken away (see Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 60).

[101] BM 135586, r. 26f, published by S. Parpola, "A Letter from Šamaš-šum-ukīn to Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 34 (1972), 21-34.

[102] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 78 ii 44-45.

[103] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 87 ll. 28-30. Elsewhere, Sennacherib's annals credit Nergal-ušēzib with gaining the throne himself (pp., 38-39 iv 46-53; 156 ll. 14-17); see Brinkman, *Prelude*, 61 n. 295.

[104] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 78 ii 46-47. The Babylonian Chronicle (iii 5-6) assigns him a reign of six months; see Brinkman, *Political History*, 64f.

not be surprising. Ḫallušu's military activity characterized an almost complete reversal of that during Šutruk-Nahhunte II's reign. Elam was now active within Babylonia itself rather than operating along the border. Between the end of VII/694 and the beginning of VII/693 Assyria faced a major threat to its suzerainty in Babylonia, and Elam played the crucial role.

The Assyrian army remained in southern Babylonia for nine months.[105] In early Tašrītu (VII) of 693 Assyria began its counter-attack in Uruk, and Nergal-ušēzib turned to Ḫallušu. While the Assyrians punished Uruk, Nergal-ušēzib gave battle. He was overcome and taken prisoner back to Assyria (VII/7/693), and his Elamite support was defeated.[106] This set the stage for a punitive strike against Elam, perhaps encouraged by the death of Ḫallušu and the accompanying turmoil.

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[105] So Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 44, assessing the situation at the end of 694.

[106] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 39 iv 49-51 and 87-88 l. 33-36; Grayson, *Chronicles*, 79 iii 4-6. See Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 44-45 n. 52 for an emended reading of the Babylonian Chronicle iii 2-3.

CHAPTER THREE

KUDUR-NAHHUNTE THROUGH HUBAN-HALTAŠ II (693-675)

Kudur-Nahhunte (693-692)

On VII/26/693, the subjects of Ḫallušu "shut the door in his face" and killed him.[1] Kudur-Nahhunte (*Kudur-naḫundu* in Sennacherib's annals and *Kudur-ru* in the Babylonian Chronicle) succeeded him. The Babylonian Chronicle makes no mention of Kudur-Nahhunte's familial connection with his predecessors, but Sennacherib's inscriptions indicate that Kudur-Nahhunte was the son of Ḫallušu.[2] There are no extant Elamite inscriptions of Kudur-Nahhunte.

In 692, Sennacherib attacked the new Elamite king from the north.[3] It is uncertain whether Kudur-Nahhunte actively aided the Babylonian Nergal-ušēzib or merely paid the price for Ḫallušu's aid to him. Sennacherib recaptured Bīt-Ḫa'iri and Rasâ, which had fallen earlier to Huban-nikaš I or Šutruk-Nahhunte II, and placed them under the commandant (*rab ḫalṣi*) of Dēr. Sennacherib's inscriptions list numerous cities plundered and burned.[4] The people retreated to the mountain strongholds, and Kudur-Nahhunte himself fled from Madaktu "his royal city" (*āl šarrūtišu*) to Hidalu "in the distant mountains" (*qereb šadê rūqūti*). The winter weather thwarted Sennacherib's march upon Madaktu, so he returned to Nineveh. This attack signified a change of theater into Elam itself. During Ḫallušu's reign, Assyria found itself on the defensive against Elamite involvement in Babylonia and along the Elamite-Babylonian border.

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[1] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 79 iii 6-9. See above, pp. 24-25 with regard to this idiom.

[2] For the name Kudur-Nahhunte, see *ElOn*, 24. Huban-menanu is identified as the son of Ḫallušu and the brother of Kudur-Nahhunte in the Walters Art Gallery inscription (Grayson, "Sennacherib Inscription," 88 ll. 14-16 and 90 l. 19). The Oriental Institute Prism inscription (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 41 v 14-16) records that Huban-menanu was the younger brother (*ahušu duppussû*) of Kudur-Nahhunte.

[3] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 39-41 iv 54 - v 16, 88 ll. 36-44, and Grayson, *Chronicles*, 79 iii 9-11. See Stolper, *Elam*, 47 and Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 45f.

[4] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 39-40 iv 61-80 and Grayson, "Sennacherib Inscription," 87 and 90-91 ll. 23-35. The latter account contains at least sixteen additional toponyms in that fragmentary passage.

This section of Sennacherib's annals concludes with the relation of Kudur-Nahhunte's death after less than three months.[5] The Babylonian Chronicle reports that Kudur-Nahhunte was taken prisoner and killed after a rule of ten months.[6] The annals may reflect unsettled conditions in Elam. The Babylonian Chronicle's report of a rebellion supports this supposition, but the discrepancy in the length of Kudur-Nahhunte's reign is not easily explained. No further details are provided in either account, so the extent of the rebellion and its ramifications for Neo-Elamite politics are unknown.

Kudur-Nahhunte's reign introduces a geographical problem, as the highland cities Madaktu and Hidalu become prominent in the Assyrian sources. Madaktu was identified as Kudur-Nahhunte's residence, but when that city was threatened, Kudur-Nahhunte withdrew to Hidalu. Madaktu and Hidalu become increasingly prominent in the source material for the subsequent decades, as Assyrian involvement in Elam increased. These cities' prominence leads to numerous questions with regard to the political relationship between them and whether they represented centers of independent kingdoms or regional power bases in a unified kingdom. The label "royal city" (āl šarrūti) is not helpful, since numerous conquered cities were described as such in the annals. Susa's role in Neo-Elamite political geography is a conundrum, since, except for its sack by Ashurbanipal, it infrequently occurs in Mesopotamian sources for the Neo-Elamite period. It is difficult to discern where the early Neo-Elamite kings made their residence. They may have preceded Kudur-Nahhunte at Madaktu, but there is no confirmation for this assumption.

Madaktu and Hidalu may have become important centers at the end of the Middle Elamite period, when Huteluduš-Inšušinak fled to the mountainous fringes of Khuzistan and Fars after the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar I.[7] If that was the case, political power may have remained localized in these highland regions even when Elam again became a regional power in the eighth century (or before). The Neo-Elamite kings, as recognized by Mesopotamian sources, apparently dwelt in Madaktu, but it was in Hidalu that the Elamite monarchs sought refuge from Assyrian attacks. From this, P. de Miroshedji proposes that Hidalu was the principal Neo-Elamite center, suggesting that the political structures were preserved there during the transition between the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods. Further, he applies a *sukkalmaḫ* model of administration to the Neo-Elamite period, with Hidalu, Madaktu, and Susa as the three administrative centers, each governed by a sovereign tied by lines of parentage and rules of familial succession.[8]

The application of a *sukkalmaḫ* model over one thousand years after the fact is misleading. For one thing, the Akkadian terms *sukkalmaḫ* and *sukkal* do not bear such connotations during this period in Mesopotamian texts,[9] and they do not occur at all in Neo-Elamite texts. More significant than the terminology involved, however, is that the extant sources provide no indication that a tripartite system – i.e., parallel to a *sukkalmaḫ*, a *sukkal* of Elam and Šimaški, and a *sukkal* of Susa – existed during this period. The *sukkalmaḫ* system operated under different conditions and on a different scale than the Neo-Elamite system, so far as the sources reveal it. However, the *sukkalmaḫ* model does provide a historical precedent, and it is possible that multiple Neo-Elamite rulers governed regional power centers subservient to a central Neo-Elamite authority. The *sukkalmaḫ* model has merit in this context, but Neo-Elamite history is as yet too unclear to build confidently upon it.

The locations of Madaktu and Hidalu are still a subject of debate. Miroshedji's identification of Madaktu with the Neo-Elamite site Tepe Patak has not won wide acceptance.[10] The exact location of Hidalu is also uncertain, although its general location is better defined. Miroshedji states that Hidalu was "probablement dans la région comprise entre Ram Hormuz et Behbahan."[11] Ashurbanipal made reference to conquering towns in the region of Huhnur "upon the border of Hidalu" (ina muhhi miṣri ša URUḤidali) and devastating the region of Bašime.[12] Persepolis Fortification texts indicate that Hidalu was on the route from Susa to Persepolis.[13]

Huban-menanu (692-689)

Huban-menanu (*Umman-menanu* in the annals and *Menanu* in the Babylonian Chronicle) was the brother of Kudur-Nahhunte and the son of Ḫallušu.[14] The central event of Huban-menanu's reign, according to Mesopotamian sources, was the battle of Ḫalule. The Babylonian Chronicle, reflecting a gap in its

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[5] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 41 v 12-13.

[6] The chronicle dates his death to the first year of Mušēzib-Marduk (692), the 17th (or 8th) day of Abu (V); Grayson, *Chronicles*, 80 iii 13-15.

[7] See Stolper, *Elam*, 42-44 and Miroschedji, "La fin de l'Élam," 72-75.

[8] "La localisation de Madaktu," *FHE*, 216ff. For the *sukkalmaḫ* system, see M. Stolper, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalmaḫs," *ZA* 72 (1982), 42-67 and *Elam*, 24-32.

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[9] See *CAD* S, 359-61 *sukkallu* (mng. 2) and *sukkalmaḫḫu* (mng. 2).

[10] *FHE*, 214-16 and compare Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 162 (with references).

[11] *FHE*, 217. See also J. Duchene "La localisation de Huhnur," *FHE*, 69 and Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 96.

[12] *BIWA*, 51-52 A v 115-117 and F iv 57-59.

[13] For references and bibliography, see Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 96. In particular, see also H. Koch, "Die Achämenidische Poststrasse von Persepolis nach Susa," *AMI* 19 (1986), 142-43 and *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 208-13. *ElW*, 656 identifies Hidalu with modern Behbahan.

[14] See above, p. 31 n. 2. The Elamite equivalent of Akkadian *menanu* is uncertain; see *ElOn*, 13. Cameron, *HEI*, 157 and 166 uses the form *Huban-immena*. Hinz, *Lost World*, 149 reads *Huban-nimena*. Stolper, *Elam*, 94 n. 379, uses the "postulated" Elamite form *Huban-nimena*. *ElW*, 1229 (v.um-ma-an-me-na-nu) normalizes the name *Huban-menana*. Note the Middle Elamite *Huban-numena* and variants in the inscriptions of Huban-numena and of his son Untaš-Napiriša, cited *ElW*, 678-81.

source material, assigned Ḫalule to an unknown year (*šatti la idi*). It credited victory to the Elamites (as at Dēr), who effected an Assyrian retreat.[15] Sennacherib's accounts are different and more loquacious. They indicate that the battle occurred in 691.[16]

Elam's foreign policy continued to be closely entwined with Babylonia's. Previously, Mušēzib-Marduk (692-689) had given up a rebellion and fled to Elam. A curious passage describes the prelude: *kî rikilti u gillati ṣēruššu bašî ultu* ᴷᵁᴿ*Elamti*ᴷᴵ *iḫišamma*.[17] This passage has been translated in various ways: 1) "on account of the treaty (concerning extradition of criminals) and the crime he was charged with, he fled from Elam..."[18] or 2) "when treacherous plotting occurred against him [Mušēzib-Marduk], he fled from Elam..."[19] The passage is ambiguous, since *rikiltu* (*rikistu*) has both nuances as translated above. If *rikilti* refers here to a treaty, (presumably between Elam and Assyria by its context) this portends later developments. The translation of *rikilti* as "treaty" is unlikely, however, since it makes no sense in the proper translation of the passage (Number 2). There is no other indication of a treaty relationship between Assyria and Elam at this time. This truncated account defies confident interpretation, especially how Mušēzib-Marduk, after being driven out of Elam by a conspiracy, was able to acquire significant Elamite support for a battle against Assyria.

The annals relate that Mušēzib-Marduk, once on the Babylonian throne, sent great treasures to Huban-menenu as an incentive (*ṭaʾtu*[20]). This *ṭaʾtu* is identified as the means whereby Elam was induced into battle against Assyria, but the scale of the battle, and Elam's leading role in it, suggests deeper, strategic issues. Huban-menanu assembled an impressive force of Elamites, Iranians, Chaldeans, and Arameans to join the Babylonians. Information on the Elamite king's political relationships with these various peoples and groups is elusive. Sennacherib's account of the allied force (*kitru*) indicates that Huban-menanu himself formed it (*katāru*).[21] This phraseology implies that Huban-menanu had significant influence (if not political authority) in these regions, at least in this endeavor. The Elamite Huban-untaš(?), the

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[15] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 80 iii 16-18.

[16] Grayson, "Problematical Battles," 342 n. 45. See also Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 51 n. 71 and Brinkman, *Prelude*, 63-64. For Sennacherib's account of the battle, see Luckenbill, *Senn.* 42-47 v 31 - vi 35 and 91f; Grayson, "Sennacherib Inscription," 92ff; and E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (Wien, 1997), 131-32 ll. 29'-52'.

[17] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 42 v 26-28.

[18] *CAD* G, 72.

[19] *CAD* B, 152 (following Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 42) and cited in *AHw*, 984 with the meaning "Verschwörung."

[20] For *ṭaʾtu*, see above, p. 14 n. 13.

[21] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 43 v 51-52.

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nāgiru of Huban-menanu, was the commander (*mumaʾiru*) of his armies.[22] Battle was joined at Ḫalule, on the Tigris.[23]

First among Huban-menanu's allied forces were named Parsuaš,[24] Anshan, Pašeru,[25] and Ellipi. Specific mention of Anshan is notable, as it does not appear elsewhere in the annals. The once-integral part of the Elamite kingdom (its symbolic significance still retained in the Elamite title "king of Anshan and Susa") here received separate mention. There is no evidence that the denizens of Anshan or Parsuaš felt any threat from Assyria at this time, so their inclusion in this battle suggests Huban-menanu's ability to command contingents from that region – particularly in light of the Babylonian Chronicle's implication that Huban-menanu initiated the attack.[26] This demonstrates some level of Elamite political influence in Fars in the early seventh century.[27] Ellipi, lost to Sargon over twenty years previous, had returned to the Elamite sphere of influence, or at least to an anti-Assyrian stance.

Ellipi and Parsuaš probably marked the northwestern and southeastern limits, respectively, of Neo-Elamite influence in the early seventh century. Numerous Chaldean and Aramean tribes are enumerated as well. Among those who dwelt on the Babylonian-Elamite border, the Assyrian threat no doubt proved a great unifier. Elam stood foremost among the forces arrayed against Assyria, and Huban-menanu's influence forged an extensive coalition of peoples stretching from Luristan to Fars. This was a major undertaking, and the stakes were commensurately high.

The outcome of the battle is uncertain. Sennacherib devoted much clay to the graphic description of his victory and the destruction or flight of the enemy's forces, including his magnanimous sparing of Mušēzib-Marduk and Huban-menanu after he noted that they had voided their excrement in fear.[28] Sennacherib's claim to victory is contradicted in the Chronicle, however,

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[22] Ibid., 45 v 82-84. For *Huban-untaš*, see *ElW*, 716. The exact nuance of the term *nāgiru* (*CAD* N/I, 117-18) as applied to Elamite officials is uncertain.

[23] For remarks on the location of Ḫalule, see J. Brinkman, "Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem," *JCS* 25 (1973), 93 n. 25 and Grayson, *Chronicles*, 255. For the battle itself, see J. Scurlock, "Neo-Assyrian Battle Tactics," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*, ed. G. Young, M. Chavalas, and R. Averbeck (Bethesda, 1997), 509-16.

[24] Numerous references to Parsuaš/Parsua/Parsumaš in the Neo-Assyrian period seem to allude to different regions in western Iran. See Levine, "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros II" *Iran* 12 (1973), 106-12. This reference, in the context of Anshan, indicates the Persians in Fars (so Stolper, *Elam*, 96-97 n. 408 and Brinkman, *Prelude*, 63).

[25] Pašeru has not been located, but compare Neo-Babylonian Paširi (in a document from the late sixth century), which Zadok *Rép. géogr.* 8, 249 provisionally locates northeast of Babylon.

[26] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 80 iii 16-18: ᵐ*Menanu ummāni* ᴷᵁᴿ*Elamti* ᴷᵁᴿ*Akkadi*ᴷᴵ *idkêma*... The prominence of Elam's role in the annals' account supports this contention.

[27] See Miroshedji, "La fin du royaume," 279.

[28] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 47 ll. 30f and Grayson, "Sennacherib Inscription," 94 ll. 96f.

which noted that Huban-menanu "effected an Assyrian retreat."[29] Other sources allude to further Assyrian operations after Ḫalule in this region, implying that the Assyrians suffered no great setback even if they were defeated.[30] Perhaps a stalemate ensued, at least on this front, and Assyria turned its attention elsewhere. Judging by the Assyrian accounts, Elam gained little from Ḫalule and Babylon even less so, as the latter was soon in terrible straits.

The Babylonian Chronicle provides a protracted notation of Huban-menanu's death, in conjunction with the siege and capture of Babylon. First, it records that Huban-menanu was stricken by paralysis (I/15/689) and unable to speak. Eleven months later (XII/7/689) he died.[31] The Babylonian Chronicle's report on the Huban-menanu's medical condition is curious, but it establishes a pattern for its accounts of subsequent Elamite kings.

Huban-haltaš I (689-681)

To judge by the Babylonian Chronicle, Huban-haltaš I succeeded Huban-menanu without incident.[32] There are no extant Elamite inscriptions of Huban-haltaš I, and no familial connection with his predecessors is indicated in the Chronicle or elsewhere. This may signify a new dynasty on the throne, but this cannot be confirmed.

The Babylonian Chronicle refers to the return of Uruk's gods to that city from another place, the name of which is broken away on the tablet. Grayson restores "Elam," but this is not certain.[33] Immediately after this broken reference, the Chronicle records Huban-haltaš I's death: "...Huban-[hal]taš (I), king of Elam, became paralyzed at noon-hour and died at sunset."[34] This continued emphasis on the Neo-Elamite kings' medical problems not only leads to questions concerning their constitution but also the types of sources used by the chroniclers. In the ten years after Ḫalule, there is no indication of any further Elamite military activity against Assyria or vice versa. As noted

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[29] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 80 iii 18.

[30] Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 49-50, citing Brinkman's remarks on YBC 11377 ("Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem," 89-95). This legal document indicates that the siege of Babylon was well-advanced on V/28/690. Brinkman notes that if Ḫalule was a reverse for the Assyrians, it was short-lived. Compare Grayson, "Problematical Battles," 342 and Scurlock, "Neo-Assyrian Battle Tactics," 514. Levine discusses further references to a possible punitive strike against Elam and an attack on Adummatu (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 82 ll. 40f and 92-93 r. 24f, respectively), but these are vague and "less than totally lucid" (pp. 49-50 and see Brinkman, *Prelude*, 65 n. 313).

[31] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 80-81, iii 19-25.

[32] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 81 iii 27.

[33] See Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front," 44-45 n. 52 and Stolper, *Elam*, 94 n. 382.

[34] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 81 iii 30-31.

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above, the clash at Ḫalule may have made Elam and Assyria wary of further action against each other, though this may simply reflect a gap in the source material. Assyrian concerns elsewhere (primarily Babylonia) are well-documented.

Huban-haltaš II (681-675)

The Babylonian Chronicle recorded Huban-haltaš II's relation with his predecessor Huban-haltaš I, but the relevant word is broken. Grayson restores [*mār*(?)]-*šu* and notes "There is no evidence for this restoration but it is the only plausible one."[35] Huban-haltaš II came to power in Elam at a turbulent time in the ancient Near East. The Assyrian Empire had been thrown into chaos by Sennacherib's assassination (late 681) and the ensuing power struggle.[36] Among those looking to capitalize on the upheaval was Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, governor (*šaknu*) of the Sealand and son of Merodach-baladan. He attacked Ur without success and then, following the path of previous Chaldean leaders, fled to Elam for refuge. But the pattern shifted this time: Huban-haltaš II imprisoned and killed him. Nabû-zēr-kitti-lišir's brother, Na'id-Marduk, then thought it prudent to leave Elam and to seek pardon before Esarhaddon. He became master of the Sealand under heavy tribute.[37] An otherwise unknown Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, son of Kuppuptu, wrote to Huban-haltaš II offering rich gifts (*nāmurāta*) for Elamite military support against Assyria, but it was apparently to no avail.[38]

It is possible that Huban-haltaš II's actions (or lack thereof) reflected a rapprochement between Elam and Assyria. There is no information regarding Elamite-Assyrian relations during the preceding ten years, but there was ample time to effect some arrangement or at least a détente. Perhaps Huban-haltaš II did not see value in supporting the Babylonians with the inevitable consequence of Assyrian retaliation. Self-interest (i.e., sparing Elam the risk of Assyrian attacks) provides sufficient impetus to reject the Chaldean rebels' requests for support. Indeed, if any time would suggest success, the current climate, with Assyria in the throes of a succession crisis, was ideal.

If indeed Elam remained detached from the volatility surrounding Esarhaddon's accession, this changed dramatically by 675. In that year, Huban-haltaš II entered Sippar and inflicted a defeat (*dīktu dīkat*) [upon the Assyrians(?)].[39]

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[35] Ibid., iii 33.

[36] Brinkman, *Prelude*, 70-72 and Frame, *Babylonia*, 65-67.

[37] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 82 iii 39-42 and Borger, *Asar.*, 46-47 Episode 4 (Nin A ii 40-64).

[38] E. Weidner, "Hochverrat gegen Asarhaddon," *AfO* 17 (1954-56), 5-9; see Frame, *Babylonia*, 66-67.

[39] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 83 iv 9-10. Brinkman suggests (*Prelude* 78-79 n. 380 and "The Babylonian Chronicle Revisited," 92) the possibility that this event was inserted accidentally at this point in the Babylonian Chronicle rather than with the attack on Sippar

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The Babylonian Chronicle's account of this attack is accompanied by the notation that Šamaš did not come out of the temple and that the Assyrians marched to Milidu.[40] According to the Babylonian Chronicle, this Elamite assault on Sippar occurred in the sixth year of Esarhaddon, possibly concurrent with problems in Bīt-Dakkuri and Nippur.[41] An economic text (VAS 5, 2) indicates that Sippar was in Assyrian hands once again on XII/2/675.[42] Whatever the impetus behind the attack on Sippar, its effects were apparently ephemeral.

There are further indications of Elamite-Assyrian friction about this time, probably preceding the Sippar episode. Elam supported Nabû-ušallim, another son of Merodach-baladan, in a bid for control of the Sealand from his brother (Esarhaddon's client) Na'id-Marduk. Nabû-ušallim had apparently been in Elam from sometime during the reign of Sennacherib.[43]

Three letters provide some insight into the events. ABL 576 was probably written by the elders of the Sealand. The writers informed Esarhaddon that a messenger had come many times to the Sealand on behalf of Nabû-ušallim, whom the Elamites wished to install there. The messenger was sent by Te'umman, brother of the king of Elam, and an otherwise unknown Zinêni.[44] The Sealanders rejected this offer, pointing out that their lord, Na'id-Marduk, yet lived and that they served Esarhaddon. The Sealanders dared them to send Nabû-ušallim before Esarhaddon to receive this post and threatened to deliver Nabû-ušallim to Esarhaddon in chains, if he came without the Assyrian king's mandate. Huban-haltaš II gave Nabû-ušallim control of various tribes (the Targibātu, Naḫal, Dūtu, and Mananu). Demands upon the Sealand continued, accompanied with threats of destruction if they did not submit to Nabû-ušallim.

ABL 1114, also presumably from the elders of the Sealand, complements this report and notes specifically that the Elamites sent Nabû-ušallim to dwell among the Targibātu. The beginning is broken, but it alludes to messengers of the king of Elam. A similar message as that in ABL 576 is relayed, but this time from the king of Elam himself. ABL 1114 r. 3-7 refers to a prisoner (taken when Nabû-ušallim reached the Targibātu) sent to the king of Elam. The

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recorded in 694, though he himself labels the suggestion "possible, though less preferable" (Prelude, n. 380). Other instances of conflict at this time support the chronicle's accuracy here; see below and Frame, Babylonia, 82 and notes.

[40] Modern Arslantepe in Anatolia, see Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 228.

[41] Grayson, Chronicles, 84 iv 14-15 and 126 l. 19. See Frame, Babylonia, 66-67 and 83f for the possibility of concurrent (and linked?) operations in Babylonia. Whether the activities of Šuma-iddin, the governor of Nippur, and Kudurru the Dakkurian were linked with Huban-haltaš II's attack, or if one served as an independent impetus for the other, is unknown. There was certainly precedent for Elamite-Babylonian cooperation.

[42] Brinkman-Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 19 and Frame, Babylonia, 82-84.

[43] BIWA, 107 B vi 70-72.

[44] This Zinêni may be the same person as the palace supervisor (ša pān ekalli) portrayed in epigraphs celebrating the defeat over Te'umman and Ištarnandi/Šutruk-Nahhunte of Hidalu (BIWA, 299f and Russell, Writing on the Wall, 158).

prisoner was forced to deliver another message in a similar vein to those previous: that the Sealand was Elamite territory. The Sealanders, communicating all this to Nineveh, wrote of their fear that Elam may move against them. They requested that Esarhaddon instruct the Chaldean tribes to stand by the Sealand.[45]

Their fears were not unwarranted. In ABL 917, Na'id-Marduk wrote to the mother of the king concerning an Elamite attack. The Elamites seized and destroyed(?)[46] a bridge and its rafts. Na'id-Marduk expressed uncertainty whether the Elamites will attack again, but he requested that Esarhaddon send military support. A son of Ningal-iddin, the king of Elam, and a certain Huban-nikaš are mentioned in an uncertain context (ll. 16-18).[47] Na'id-Marduk insisted that he has ignored all entreaties from Elam, and he emphasized his allegiance and loyalty to Esarhaddon, who assuredly had not forgotten that Na'id-Marduk once fled to Elam.[48]

ABL 965 also reveals Elamite-Assyrian tension in the early years of Esarhaddon's reign. The letter concerns an otherwise-unknown Ḫinnumu and the city of Uruk.[49] The beginning and end of the tablet and the right side are broken away, so the author is unknown, but it is presumably addressed to Esarhaddon.[50] A later governor of Uruk, Aḫḫēšaia, is mentioned several times in fragmentary contexts.[51] Ḫinnumu's loyalty was questioned, because of past dealings with Elam, including gifts of chariots, horses, and gold given to the Elamite king. Ur, rebels, and Nabû-zēr-kitti-lišir are all mentioned in fragmentary contexts, before the letter breaks off completely.

Esarhaddon's description of his relations with the Gambulu may also reflect the climate brought about by the Elamite attack on Sippar and conflict over the Sealand. Bēl-iqīša, leader of the Gambulu, brought tribute (including

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[45] See Dietrich, Aramäer, 24-25 and Frame, Babylonia, 88-89 and notes.

[46] For lines 9-10, CAD A/II, 85 translates "dismantled" for ip(!)taṭru. See also Dietrich, Aramäer, 144-45 No. 24 for this passage. The fragmentary ABL 1131:3-7 refers to an attack upon Bīt-Yakīn by Nabû-ušallim and Elamite troops (Dietrich, Aramäer, 144-45 No. 23 and 146-47 No. 29).

[47] See Frame, Babylonia, 278-79 for three sons of Ningal-iddin and references. This Huban-nikaš may be Huban-nikaš II, son of Urtak and nephew of Huban-haltaš II, but this cannot be confirmed.

[48] Note also ABL 839 (a copy of an NB letter with NA postscript, written entirely in NA script and dated to 653; see below, p. 58): 14-15. Nabû-bēl-šumāti wrote that the Sealand had not been settled since the time of Na'id-Marduk. If understood correctly, this indicates that the Elamite operations against Na'id-Marduk unsettled the entire region for several years. Compare the translation in CAD B, 273: "concerning the Sealand, which ever since Na'id-Marduk ceased to be present."

[49] A Ḫinummu appears as a witness in T. Kwasman and S. Parpola, Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-pileser III through Esarhaddon, SAA VI (Helsinki, 1991), No. 192.

[50] See Dietrich, Aramäer, 28-29 for a reconstruction of the events and translations, pp. 146-47 Nos. 27-28 and pp. 166-67 No. 72. Dietrich draws his conclusions "bei aller Vorsicht" and rightly so. The content is too obscure to make any definite judgements.

[51] For Aḫḫēšaia, see PNA 1/I, 60-61.

bulls and white mules from Elam) to Nineveh. Esarhaddon, in turn, fortified Bēl-iqīša's fortress Ša-pī-Bēl, and viewed Bēl-iqīša and his men as a garrison there.[52] Thus Esarhaddon claimed "...and I made it [Ša-pī-Bēl] like a locked door in the face of Elam."[53]

The incidents described above reveal increased Elamite-Assyrian friction during Huban-haltaš II's reign. Whatever Huban-haltaš II's motives were in attacking Sippar and the Sealand, he did not live long enough to follow up his initiatives. The Babylonian Chronicle again provides commentary on the medical circumstances of an Elamite king's death, noting that Huban-haltaš II died in his palace "without becoming ill" (NU GIG).[54]

Šilhak-Inšušinak II (?-?)

This ruler presents difficulties for the sequence of Neo-Elamite kings as portrayed in the Mesopotamian sources. Šilhak-Inšušinak dedicated a temple to ^{d}DIL.BAD,[55] Lady of Susa, on the door sockets of which he carved his inscription (EKI 78).[56] Šilhak-Inšušinak used the unembellished title "king" (EŠŠANA) but specified no particular area of rule. He named himself son of Ummanunu.[57] Cameron identifies Ummanunu with Huban-immena (Cameron's normalization for the Huban-menanu who reigned from 692-689).[58] Later Elamite texts (dated to the late seventh to early sixth centuries) also contain reference to a king Ummanunu.[59] If Šilhak-Inšušinak's father is identified with this individual, it necessitates the removal of Šilhak-Inšušinak II from the mid-seventh century chronological sequence in order to place him several decades later.[60]

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[52] Borger, Asar., 52-53 Episode 13 and A. Heidel, "A New Hexagonal Prism of Esarhaddon," Sumer 12 (1956), 22-25 ll. 37-52. This prism is dated II/22/676 (Frame, Babylonia, 81). For Bēl-iqīša, see PNA 1/II, 315-16.

[53] kīma ^{GIŠ}dalti ina pān ^{KUR}Elamti ēdilšu. Borger, Asar., 53 Episode 13 (Nin A iii 83) and Heidel, "Prism of Esarhaddon," 24 l. 52.

[54] Grayson, Chronicles, 84 iv 11-13. The Esarhaddon Chronicle (126 l. 16) adds that Huban-haltaš II still appeared healthy (balṭu(ti)-su). Note that l. 17 assigns a reign of six years to Huban-haltaš II, as opposed to five years in the Babylonian Chronicle (iv 12); see Brinkman, "The Babylonian Chronicle Revisited," 90.

[55] This logogram indicates Ištar in Akkadian. ElW (p. 329) equates it here to the Elamite goddess Narsina. Compare F. Grillot, "À propos de la notion de subordination dans la syntaxe élamite," JA 258 (1970), 232 reading Parti (i.e., Mašti). This logogram is also attested in EKI 75:22 and the Bronze Plaque of Persepolis, r. 35.

[56] See König, EKI, p. 22 and Cameron, HEI, 167 and n. 32 regarding Šilhak-Inšušinak's inscription and related fragments.

[57] König (EKI p. 169) marks the first three signs (DIŠ um-ma) as uncertain.

[58] HEI, 167. See above, p. 33 n. 14.

[59] MDP 9, 165. See references and commentary in ElW, 1231 and below, p. 95. Neither Šilhak-Inšušinak nor Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak appears in that corpus.

[60] Thus Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 389 and 393.

The situation becomes complicated if Šilhak-Inšušinak's son Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak is identified with the Te'umman who was king of Elam from 664?-653 or if Šilhak-Inšušinak's father Ummanunu is identified with the Huban-menanu who was king of Elam from 692-689. If either (or both) of these apply, Neo-Elamite politics in the early and mid-seventh century must be construed as a struggle between two factions: that of Huban-menanu (tracing his lineage back to Huban-tahra) and that of Huban-haltaš I (no lineage given) and his successors. The familial links between these factions, if any, are unknown. This entire construct is hypothetical, however. There is no unambiguous evidence for concurrent, Neo-Elamite kings in the early seventh century. It should be noted that, although the above construct is unlikely in light of the extant source material, it cannot be rejected outright.

CHAPTER FOUR

URTAK AND TE'UMMAN (675-653)

Urtak (675-664?)

Urtak succeeded his brother Huban-haltaš II.[1] Urtak's reign marked a change in Assyrian-Elamite relations. Esarhaddon referred to kings of Elam and Guti as "obstinate rulers, who responded to the kings my predecessors with hostility."[2] Esarhaddon noted that these kings feared Assyrian might (*epēšu+danānu*) and that Elamite and Gutian messengers came to Nineveh with offerings of friendship and peace (*ṭūbu u sulummû*). The Elamite king is not identified in the passage, but this text is dated to 673, after Urtak's accession, so it assuredly refers to him.[3] Huban-haltaš II's attack on Sippar may have had a powerful effect upon Esarhaddon, so much so that he was open to peace. This treaty might also be interpreted in light of developments in the Zagros Mountains, including Cimmerian and Scythian invasions, preceding Esarhaddon's "Succession Treaty" with various Median rulers in 672.[4] This change in relations also has prompted questions regarding Urtak's relations with Assyria before he gained the throne.[5]

The Babylonian and Esarhaddon Chronicles provide further witness of a thaw in relations. In Addaru (XII), 674, Elam returned Ištar and other gods

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[1] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 84 iv 13-14 and 126 l. 16-18. For Urtak's name, see *EIW*, 1248 and *ElOn*, 42. Note ʰ*ú-ir-tak-ra* in *MDP* 9, 120:7 (cited Brinkman, *Prelude*, 79 n. 381).

[2] Borger, *Asar.*, 58-59, Episode 19 (Nin A v 26-27). Guti probably refers to the mountainous regions east of the Tigris; R. Zadok, "Iranian and Babylonian Notes," *AfO* 28 (1981/82), 138 n. 65 and Frame, *Babylonia*, 133 n. 8.

[3] Brinkman, *Prelude*, 79 n. 382 and Frame, *Babylonia*, 83 n. 99.

[4] See S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, SAA II (Helsinki, 1988), xixx-xxx and I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA IV (Helsinki, 1990), lxi-lxii.

[5] The Esarhaddon Chronicle notes that Huban-haltaš II "without becoming ill and still appearing healthy, died in his palace" (Grayson, *Chronicles*, 126 ll. 16-18). This does not necessarily imply that Urtak had covert Assyrian assistance to remove his brother and take the throne, as Cameron suggests (*HEI*, 168; compare Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 130-31).

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of Akkad to Babylonia.[6] This act is usually interpreted as a gesture of goodwill to Assyria. A passage in Esarhaddon's annals parallels this account: Esarhaddon stated that he returned gods plundered from Assyria and Elam to their appropriate places.[7] An administrative document dating to this time provides details of an extensive inventory of divine effects, and it lists a gift (*nāmurtu*) given to the king of Elam.[8] *ABL* 746 may also refer to this event.[9] The author, Mār-Issar (one of Esarhaddon's agents in Babylonia), referred to the Lady of Akkad's departure for Elam and the takeover of her assets. The letter subsequently turns to Esarhaddon's recent resettlement of Akkad (referring to the upheaval caused by the Elamite raid on Sippar in 675?) and concerns about the delivery of regular offerings there.[10]

A fragmentary letter (*CT* 54, 580[11]) to a certain Šulmu-bēl[12] alludes to an *adê*-agreement between the kings of Elam and Assyria. The phraseology indicates an equal relationship (ll. 3-7):

šar KUR*Elamti*KI *u šar* KUR*Aš[šur*KI*] aḫāmeš kî ilte[nemmû] ina amat* d*Marduk itti aḫāmeš isselmū u ana bēlī adê ša aḫāmeš ittūra*

The king of Elam and the king of Assyria, after they continually listened to each other, by the command of Marduk they made peace with each other, and they made a sworn agreement[13] with each other.

This letter is usually interpreted as alluding to relations between Esarhaddon and Urtak,[14] and this is certainly correct. It indicates a mutual understanding, predicated upon equality, between the two kings. The adverb *aḫāmeš* appears three times in the five-line passage, emphasizing the joint nature of this treaty. The letter continues with the notice that all the region's troops will go to a festival (to celebrate the treaty?). The obverse breaks off shortly thereafter. The reverse refers to Iaṣar and his kin (r. 7f), servants of the (Elamite?)

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[6] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 84 iv 17-18 and 126 ll. 21-22. See Brinkman, "The Babylonian Chronicle Revisited," 90.

[7] Borger, *Asar.*, 25, Episode 36 (Bab C vii 5-11).

[8] F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial and Administrative Records, Part I*, SAA VII (Helsinki, 1992), No. 60. See Frame, *Babylonia*, 99-100 for discussion.

[9] S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA X (Helsinki, 1993), No. 359. Parpola dates this letter to late 670.

[10] For Akkad under Esarhaddon, see Frame, *Babylonia*, 73f.

[11] BM 99020. Dietrich, *Aramäer*, 58-59 n. 9 dates it between 672 and 669. Two passages from the letter are translated on pp. 164-65, including the one discussed here.

[12] Collated E. Leichty, contra Dietrich's reading of Šulmu-aḫu. Dietrich restores [LUGAL] after DUMU in l. 1 and identifies the author as Ashurbanipal (i.e., the crown prince). See also Dietrich, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Babyloniens (II)," *WO* 4 (1967-68), 245.

[13] *CAD* A/I, 134 translates *bēl adê* as "servant, vassal (bound by an *adû*-agreement)." See Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* II, xvii.

[14] Dietrich, *Aramäer*, 58-59 n. 9 and Frame, *Babylonia*, 83 n. 99.

king who have fled to Šulmu-bēl. Apparently, Šulmu-bēl was to return them so as not to jeopardize the agreement between the two kings.[15]

An extispicy query may allude to the peace process that culminated in the treaty, but key passages, including the nature of the request, are lost.[16] Urtak, king of Elam, is mentioned, but the nature of the request must be almost entirely restored. Though the particulars of the preliminaries of this peace process are elusive, the end result is not: a full and formal peace treaty governed relations between Assyria and Elam.

Other letters refer to this treaty. ABL 328 makes explicit reference to the king of Elam remaining true to the adê-agreement, when he rejected his brothers' calls to capture Chaldea.[17] The subsequent passage (ll. 17-20) is interpreted by some to reflect the Elamite king's change of heart.[18] This is probably the correct understanding, since the letter continues (ll. 21-23) that all of Elam was instructed to prepare provisions for a campaign. In light of the peaceful relations between Urtak and Esarhaddon, ABL 328 was probably written during Ashurbanipal's reign (668-627), before Urtak's invasion of Babylonia in 664 (see below).

A letter addressed to Urtak by Esarhaddon refers to an exchange of royal children. Esarhaddon's standard greeting ("It is well with me") was accompanied by confirmation of the same regarding Urtak's children. And, accompanying the salutation to Urtak, Esarhaddon extended greetings to his own children as well. This reading indicates that at least some of the kings' children were present at the other's court. This is striking, especially in light of the previously hostile relations between Elam and Assyria. Parpola suggests that this exchange secured the peace treaty with the kings' children serving as hostages. The letter continues with the statement that the various gods have successfully fulfilled what they promised (presumably the treaty establishment and its terms).[19]

ABL 476, authored by Mār-Issar, may represent an initial stage in the breakdown of this alliance, wherein Mār-Issar recounted various problems with the construction of a temple at Dēr.[20] In addition to the problem of lackadaisical workers, the crown prince of Elam had "become troublesome" (marāṣu) and had sent mud-brick masons there. Mār-Issar, apparently concerned about the king's sense of geography, reminded him that Dēr was situated on the border of another country and requested that a royal bodyguard (ša qurbūti) and a master builder (etinnu) be sent there (r. 11-29). Mār-Issar

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[15] After Dietrich, "Neue Quellen (II)," 245 n. 121.

[16] I. Starr, SAA IV, No. 74.

[17] Lines 9-16, see Parpola and Watanabe, SAA II, xvii. I thank Simo Parpola for providing me with a transliteration of part of this letter from the SAA database.

[18] Thus Frame, Babylonia, 88 n. 123 and F. Malbran-Labat, "Nabû-bêl-šumâte, Prince du Pays-de-la-Mer," JA 263 (1975), 12 n. 20.

[19] S. Parpola, "A Letter from Šamaš-šumu-ukīn to Esarhaddon," Iraq 34 (1972), 34 n. 66 and Parpola and Watanabe, SAA II, xvii.

[20] ABL 476 is published as Parpola, SAA X, No. 349 – dated VII/12/671.

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was preoccupied with the security at the temple as well as its completion. The extent and significance of the Elamite prince's involvement in this Elamite-Babylonian border-town remain uncertain.[21]

Peaceful relations between Elam and Assyria seem to have continued into the early part of Ashurbanipal's reign (668-627).[22] In the annals, Ashurbanipal noted his benevolence: he sent grain to Urtak in time of famine and offered refuge to those Elamites fleeing the draught conditions and allowed them to return to Elam when it was over.[23] These events took place sometime between 669 and 664, when Ashurbanipal undertook his campaign to counter Urtak's assault.[24]

Ashurbanipal emphasized that Urtak's attack was unforeseen. Even a messenger bearing news of the attack did not fully convince Ashurbanipal. Urtak's nobles repeatedly sent to Ashurbanipal in favor of peace in order to delay the Assyrian response. These nobles were probably Elamites at the Assyrian court, although this is not explicit.[25] Ashurbanipal dispatched another messenger, who confirmed the invasion and the Elamite army's presence near Babylon.[26] Urtak fled in fear when he heard of the Assyrian advance. Ashurbanipal pursued him to the border of Elam and defeated him.

It stretches credibility to assume that the Elamites expected no response to their attack – raid or otherwise.[27] It seems unlikely that they fled without giving battle until forced, unless provocation was the main purpose. Since Assyria seemingly made no move against Elam for more than ten years after this, another stalemate (like Dēr in 720) may have resulted. Preoccupation on other fronts may have been the cause of Ashurbanipal's restraint,[28] but it is

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[21] For an overview of this region, see J. Brinkman, "The Elamite-Babylonian Frontier in the Neo-Elamite Period, 750-625 B.C.," FHE, 199-207.

[22] An example that may contradict this view involves Assyrian action against Kirbītu in 668. The Babylonian and Esarhaddon Chronicles (Grayson, Chronicles, 86 iv 37 and 127 l. 38) refer to the capture of "the king," while Ashurbanipal's annals (BIWA, 94 B iii 5-15) use the term "mayor" (hazānu). If there is any merit in the suggestion that Elamite Kurputtu (EKI 74 I 9; see above, p. 19) was Akkadian Kirbītu, this area may have been Elamite territory at one time – and perhaps still was in the 660s.

[23] Ashurbanipal also noted this assistance, and that Elam did not reciprocate these good deeds, in his correspondence (e.g., ABL 295:9-11 and 1260:5-12).

[24] BIWA, 94-97 B iv 18-86. The date of this campaign is usually assigned to 664 at the latest. For discussion, see Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 128-30 and Frame, Babylonia, 119 n. 93. Compare A. K. Grayson, "The Chronology of the Reign of Ashurbanipal," ZA 70 (1980), 227-45 and Mayer, Politik und Kriegskunst, 410-11.

[25] Frame, Babylonia, 120 and compare Brinkman, Prelude, 91 n. 452.

[26] BIWA, 95-96 B iv 35-48.

[27] Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 132 suggests a raid for booty or destabilization. Compare Cameron, HEI, 186f, who postulates internal Elamite politics as behind a significant attack. Cameron's analysis is preferable, though the particulars of the interpretation offered here differ (see below).

[28] For example, Ashurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns; see Grayson, "Reign of Ashurbanipal," 230-32; Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 132; Frame, Babylonia, 119-20; and Mayer, Politik und Kriegskunst, 398-400. Of course, the lack of further references to Elamite-Assyrian conflict may reflect a gap in the sources.

possible that the annals ignore Elamite success. That Urtak would sacrifice the peaceful relations with Assyria for mere plunder is difficult to fathom. Deeper issues and a more profound change in Elam's attitude toward Assyria should be assumed.[29]

Uruk and Nippur may have been involved in Urtak's attack. Nabû-ušabši claimed that Bēl-iqīša and Elam destroyed his father's house (ABL 269:10-15).[30] ABL 998 refers to Urtak (in the first extant line) and to Huban-nikaš shortly thereafter as having been in Uruk (5'-6'). Whether this is a reference to Urtak's attack or to Huban-nikaš II's sojourn in Assyria (see below) is uncertain.[31] Nabû-šum-ēreš, the governor of Nippur, is named among those who incited Urtak to attack.[32] A text from Nippur (the only one dated to Ashurbanipal known from Babylonia during Šamaš-šum-ukīn's reign) is dated V/25/664. To explain this tablet's date, Frame suggests that Assyrians occupied Nippur after the Elamites retreated.[33] The extent of Urtak's support among the Babylonians and Arameans remains uncertain, but the links with Bēl-iqīša and Nabû-šum-ēreš suggest a wide scope (and support) for the Elamite attack.

Ashurbanipal's account of Urtak's hostility, with its emphasis on Ashurbanipal's apparently total surprise, is curious. The annals' treatment of Urtak is mild, lacking the scorn typically heaped upon Assyria's enemies.[34] Urtak's allies – Bēl-iqīša (the sheikh of Gambulu),[35] Nabû-šum-ēreš, and Marduk-šum-ibni, šūt rēši of Urtak – were said to have moved him by lies. Bēl-iqīša and Nabû-šum-ēreš were described as Ashurbanipal's subjects, who acted in concert with Marduk-šum-ibni. Nothing else is known of this Marduk-šum-ibni.[36]

ABL 328 may allude to the Elamite politics behind Urtak's attack on Babylonia, if the fragmentary passage in lines 17ff allude to a change in the Elamite king's adherence to the adê-agreement (see above). This letter highlights overt, anti-Assyrian activity at the highest level of Elamite politics.

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[29] Teʾumman's influence was probably behind this change of policy; see my "Teʾumman in the Neo-Assyrian Correspondence," JAOS 119 (1999), 473-77.

[30] Frame remarks: "This passage could refer to the physical destruction of Nabû-ušabši's paternal home, the economic ruin of his family, or the murder of his relatives" (Babylonia, 120 n. 95). For citations of Nabû-ušabši as šākin ṭēmi of Uruk, see Frame, Babylonia, 280.

[31] Lines 1-13 are translated by Dietrich, Aramäer, 166-67, No. 71. Šamaš-šum-ukīn described Huban-nikaš as very aggressive(?) in a letter to Ashurbanipal (ABL 1385:13-15; for raṣmu, see AHw, 960: "stimmgewaltig"). The context is obscure, but this too may reflect rising tension between Elam and Assyria. See Frame, Babylonia, 110-11 (for translation of this section of the letter) and 129 n. 150.

[32] BIWA, 95 B iv 27-32.

[33] Babylonia, 120 and n. 96.

[34] Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 125f.

[35] Bēl-iqīša appears numerous times in sources of the period; see PNA 1/II, 315-16 (No. 6) and Frame, Babylonia, 118ff.

[36] See Tallqvist, APN, 133 for other citations of this name.

The brothers of the king (including Teʾumman?) argued for an attack against Chaldea and had the forces prepared to move. If the interpretation that Urtak intended to break the adê-agreement is correct, it is reasonable to assume that this letter reflects internal Elamite politics not long before Urtak's attack of 664.

This section of the annals ends with an account of the antagonists' fates.[37] Urtak died untimely "on a day not appointed by fate, death became hostile..." (ina ūmê la šimtišu mūtu ugarrû...). Further, it is noted that he died "that same year" (MU.AN.NA-šú)[38] – presumably the year in which he attacked Babylonia (dated here to 664). The flight of several prominent Elamites to Nineveh had momentous consequences for the future of Elam. In addition to the sixty members of the royal family, archers "without number," and citizens (mār banî) of Elam, some specific individuals are named: Ummanigaš (Elamite Huban-nikaš), Ummanappa (Elamite Huban-api?), and Tammaritu – sons of Urtak – and Kudurru and Parû – sons of Huban-haltaš II. The Šamaš-šum-ukīn Chronicle relates that on VII/12/664, the Elamite crown prince fled to Assyria, and this episode is often connected to Urtak's son (and presumed heir) Huban-nikaš II's flight from Teʾumman.[39]

Teʾumman (664?-653) (Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak?)

Akkadian Teʾumman appears to be a hypocoristicon of Elamite Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak: Teʾ a shortening of Elamite Te(m)pti,[40] Umman an attested form of Elamite Hu(m)ban, and an elided Inšušinak (compare Ḫallušu and Hallutaš-Inšušinak). However, even if the Akkadian Teʾumman is a shortening of Elamite Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, there is no certainty that the Teʾumman in question was the same person as the Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak who dedicated several inscriptions at Susa. If so, then this Elamite material may be utilized. This identification has been made in the majority of modern scholarship, but it has recently been cast into doubt.[41] Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's inscriptions will be examined here, with further discussion on the identification with Teʾumman below.

Seven inscriptions of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak were found at Susa, the most extant of any Neo-Elamite ruler.[42] They are of varying lengths and states of

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[37] BIWA, 96-97 B iv 54-73.

[38] Ibid., B iv 55-58 and Streck, Asb., 210-13 l. 17 (K 2867+).

[39] Grayson, Chronicles, 128 ll. 2-3 and Frame, Babylonia, 120. Note that the annals list several people in flight from Assyria to Elam.

[40] See ElOn, 43-44 for numerous variants of Te(m)pti.

[41] F. Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse" and Encyclopaedia Iranica VIII, 310. In favor of this identification, Cameron, HEI, 186f; Hinz, Lost World, 154; Stolper, Elam, 50; and IRS, p. 172.

[42] EKI 79-85 and IRS 59-62. EKI 82 and 84 are essentially the same text, which IRS publishes as one (No. 60). Further concordance: EKI 80 = IRS 62; EKI 81 = IRS 59; EKI 83 = IRS 61.

preservation, in which Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak named himself son of Šilhak-Inšušinak (II). Various deities are mentioned, among them Inšušinak, Napi-riša, and Pinigir. *IRS* 60-61 and *EKI* 79 refer to the temple of Inšušinak. *IRS* 62 is devoted to the goddess Pinigir, though a temple to her is also apparently mentioned in *EKI* 85:19. The title "king" (EŠŠANA [*sunki*]), or any other royal titulary, does not occur in Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's inscriptions. If Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak was not the paramount ruler in his time, it is difficult to identify him with the Te'umman of Assyrian texts.[43] That ruler, at least from the Assyrian perspective, ruled as king.

EKI 79 and *IRS* 62 refer to military victories, which Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak dedicated to Napiriša and Inšušinak in the former and to Pinigir in the latter. Both inscriptions refer to the same conquest over the Balahute and Lallar, who dwelt in the mountainous regions below the Little Zab in modern Kurdistan.[44] If this Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak is identified with Te'umman (664?-653), his campaigning in this region (near Assyrian territory) is significant with regard to Elamite military activity in the 650s.[45] These identifications, if accurate, provide another possible theater of Elamite-Assyrian conflict outside Susiana, but there is no obvious reference in Mesopotamian sources to confirm Assyrian-Elamite conflict in Kurdistan in the mid-seventh century.

The orthography of the third element of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's name differs among the texts. In *IRS* 61 and *EKI* 85, "Inšušinak" is written with the logogram MÙŠ.LAM,[46] and in *IRS* 62 it is written out: ᵈ*in-su-iš-na-ak*.[47] Malbran-Labat notes that this type of broken writing is frequent in Achaemenid Elamite. On the surface this might indicate a later date for these inscriptions, but the writing of the divine name Inšušinak varied in all periods.[48] This difference may reflect nothing more than scribal preference or training and cannot be used to establish a date.

EKI 85 differs from Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's other inscriptions in the use of the logogram DUMU (rather than syllabic *šak*, e.g., *IRS* 62) for "son." This difference does not appear to be chronologically significant.[49] Anshan (with-

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[43] This difficulty disappears if it is assumed that Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak dedicated his inscriptions before he succeeded Urtak as king.

[44] Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 33 and 155. The context in *EKI* 79:7 is ambiguous. *EKI* 80:3 records the receipt of *zabbe* ("tribute"?) from these people. These citations do not appear elsewhere, save for a reference to the Balahute in *EKI* 46:95 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I).

[45] If this Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak is dated in the sixth century (as Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 393), these military activities may be more easily countenanced. However, one would assume Median supremacy over these regions by this time, so it is difficult to fit these conquests into our knowledge of either period.

[46] This logogram is a probable restoration in *IRS* 59 and 60. Steve, *Syllabaire*, p. 147 No. 102, reads the logogram as MÙŠ.LAM, while *IRS*, pp. 138-39 reads it as NINNI₆.LAM.

[47] The parallels in content with *EKI* 79 suggest a similar restoration in that text.

[48] *IRS*, p. 140 and notes (citing Paper, *RAE*, 9-15). See Vallat's discussion of phonetic changes ("Nouvelle analyse," 387-88). For the various spellings of Inšušinak, see references in *ElW*, 761.

[49] Compare Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 387 and 389.

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out determinative) appears in *EKI* 85:11 but in a broken context. *EKI* 85 appears to be an administrative text concerning religious offerings. A feature common in the Malyan texts (PI+PÍR) appears in a fragment of line 7(?).[50]

Because of the uncertainty regarding the identification of Te'umman (664?-653) with this Tepti-Huban-Inšušuinak, the form *Te'umman* is maintained in the following (except when referring specifically to Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's inscriptions). Ashurbanipal's annals relate the accession of Te'umman with a description markedly different than that of Urtak: Te'umman is described as *tamšīl gallê* ("image of a *gallû*-demon"), an invective used against numerous enemies of Assyria.[51]

At least two individuals with the name "Te'umman" appear in Assyrian sources:

1) Epigraph from Sennacherib's palace:
ᵐ*Ur[ta]ku ḫatānu* ᵐ*Te'umman*
Urtak, (brother or father?)-in-law of Te'umman...[52]

2) *ABL* 576 (l. 8):
ᵐ*Tumman aḫišu ša šar* ᴷᵁᴿNIM.MAᴷᴵ
Te'umman, brother of the king of Elam[53]

3) Epigraph from Sennacherib's palace:
ᵐ*Te'umman šar* ᴷᵁᴿNIM.MAᴷᴵ... ᵐ*Tamrîtu mārišu rabû*...
Te'umman, king of Elam... Tammaritu, his eldest son...[54]

4) Assurbanipal's annals, Edition B vii 32 (*BIWA*, 110):
ᵐ*Undasi* DUMU ᵐ*Te'umman* LUGAL NIM.MAᴷᴵ
Undasi, the son of Te'umman, king of Elam

5) K 4457+ r. 24 (*BIWA*, 314):
ᵐ*Te'umman* ᴸᵁ*rab qašti ša Bīt-Ḫalla*...(?)
Te'umman the chief bowman of Bīt-Ḫalla...

6) K 2867+ r. 1 (Streck, *Asb.*, 212-13 and *BIWA*, 330-31):
ᵐ*Te'umman ahi abišunu*...
Te'umman, brother of their father...
(in reference to the sons of Huban-haltaš II and Urtak)

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[50] Line 7 according to König's copy, *EKI*, Tafel 24; see *TTM*, 12 n. 28.

[51] *BIWA*, 97 B iv 74. See *CAD* G, 19 for additional examples of the use of this invective.

[52] 3R 37, No. 2:10-14; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 30; *BIWA*, 302; and J. Russell, *The Writing on the Wall* (Winona Lake, 1999), 172 and 175 (Fig. 58). Note that this Urtak cannot be the king Urtak who preceded Te'umman and, indeed, is not identified as "king."

[53] This spelling is unique in the extant texts, but it is usually read as a reference to Te'umman (e.g., Cameron, *HEI*, 186 and see *ElOn*, 13).

[54] 3R 37, No. 3:16-21; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 31; and *BIWA*, 300. Note also the epigraph 3R 37, No. 5:28-30: Te'umman urges his son, whose name is not given, to take up the bow (Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 30; *BIWA*, 300; and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 169-70 [Fig. 52]).

With the exception of Number 5, which dates to the time of Tammaritu II (652?-649?), these citations all refer to Te'umman, king of Elam from 664?-653. They present difficulties for the Te'umman – Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak identification. K 2867+, citing Te'umman as the brother of Urtak and Huban-haltaš II, provides conflicting information in light of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's statement that he was the son of Šilhak-Inšušinak. Therefore, the identification of this Te'umman with Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak of *EKI* 79-85 must be rejected, or a situation parallel to that postulated for Šutruk-Nahhunte II and Hallutaš-Inšušinak above must be assumed (see above, p. 27): the three kings had the same mother but at least two fathers.

Maintaining the Te'umman - Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak identification becomes more convoluted when other factors are considered. Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak displayed no royal titulary in his inscriptions. His father Šilhak-Inšušinak II's use of the title "king," if he did not arrogate it, implies a position of power and authority in Elam, concurrent with one or more of the preceding kings identified as such in Mesopotamian sources (e.g., Huban-haltaš I). This hypothesis demands recognition of two simultaneous kings in Elam, for which there is no reliable evidence until 653 (see below).

If Šilhak-Inšušinak II was a contemporary of Huban-haltaš I, and the ruler of an independent kingdom, a union of the two kingdoms may have been sought through a diplomatic marriage, for example, between Huban-haltaš I and the sister-wife of Šilhak-Inšušinak.[55] If this woman bore Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak (to Šilhak-Inšušinak) and Huban-haltaš II and Urtak (to Huban-haltaš I), then the three indeed would have been brothers, as recorded in K 2867+. Ashurbanipal's foe Te'umman then may be accurately identified with the Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak of *EKI* 79-85. This reconstruction, while not beyond the realm of possibility, is strictly hypothetical – perhaps most serviceable as an illustration of the uncertainties in our knowledge of Neo-Elamite history. It is also a possibility that conflation in the Assyrian sources underlies modern confusion in attempting to sort out familial relations among Neo-Elamite royalty.

The major event of Te'umman's reign, as recorded by Assyrian sources, was the battle of Tell Tuba. Edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals is the main source for this episode.[56] An eclipse was noted, occurring in the month of Dûzu (IV) and interpreted as a harbinger of the end of Te'umman's reign, the event by which modern scholars date the campaign. This portent signaled a debilitating accident (*mihru*[57]) that befell Te'umman, but it did not sway him from plans of attack. In the next month (Abu) Te'umman raised an army and advanced against Assyria. The Assyrian response waited until the following month, Ulûlu.

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[55] Cameron, *HEI*, 186 assumed a diplomatic marriage between Urtak's and Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's families.

[56] *BIWA*, 97-101 B iv 87 - v 76.

[57] *BIWA*, 98-99 B v 10-14. For mihru, see *CAD* M/II, 59-60 (mng. 6).

J. Mayr's examination of this eclipse account narrows the possible dates to July 13, 653, dated by the Gregorian calendar. This date fits the context of Edition B, and it is accepted by most modern commentators.[58] Little is known of Elamite-Assyrian relations between Urtak's death and Ashurbanipal's campaign against Te'umman, and dating the campaign to 653 leaves a ten year gap in our knowledge of Neo-Elamite history. 653 is the date followed here.

Edition B indicates that it was Te'umman who took the initiative. Te'umman continually sent messages for the extradition of his nephews, the sons of Huban-haltaš II and Urtak, and periodically boasted before his assembled troops, goading Ashurbanipal to war.

ina muhhi mērihēti ina qātī ^mUmbadarâ
u ^{md}Nabû-damiq ištanappara arhišam
qereb ^{KUR}Elamti uštarrah ina puhur ummānātēšu[59]

On this account insolent (messages) by the hands of
Huban-tahra and Nabû-damiq he sent every month.
In Elam he boasted before the assembly of his troops.

Ashurbanipal did not release the fugitives.

A fragmentary text describes Te'umman intending to invade Assyria: "I will not [*sleep* until] I have come and din[ed] in the centre of Nineveh!"[60] but this is for dramatic effect. According to the annals, Te'umman advanced only as far as Bīt-Imbî before the fear of Ashurbanipal's army caused him to retreat to Susa.[61] Some hyperbole might be assumed in the Assyrian account, but there is no source that explicitly confirms an Elamite invasion of Assyrian territory at this time.

Edition B's account of the campaign contains lengthy religious and prophetic elements. Against A. L. Oppenheim, P. Gerardi argues that these religious elements served to justify Ashurbanipal's subsequent installation of Urtak's sons in Elam.[62] It is possible that these actions were secondarily instituted (even if Ashurbanipal had desired them all along) during the

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[58] "The Lunar Eclipse of July 13, 653 B.C.," in Piepkorn, *Asb.*, 105-109. The closest candidate is dated to August 3 (Abu 3), 663, but this eclipse occurred "so that Šamaš saw it" (v 6) and, according to Mayr (107f), could not have been the eclipse of 663. Compare F. R. Stephenson (*apud* J. E. Reade and C. B. F. Walker, "Some Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," *AfO* 28 (1981-82), 121-22. Note also the remarks of Frame, *Babylonia*, 122-23 n. 112, favoring a date of 653.

[59] *BIWA*, 97-98 B iv 87-99, lines 97-99 quoted here.

[60] Livingstone, *SAA* III, No. 31 ll. 7'-13'.

[61] *BIWA*, 103f B v 82-86. Note Frame's account of this battle and its aftermath, *Babylonia*, 122-25.

[62] "Elamite Campaigns," 149f. A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book* (Philadelphia, 1956), 201 argues that these elements justified Ashurbanipal's delay in responding to the attack. See also S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies, SAA* IX (Helsinki, 1997) xlvi and lxx and M. Nissinen, *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources, SAAS* VII (Helsinki, 1998), 47-60. Reliefs and epigraphs dedicated to this campaign explicitly treat the installation of Huban-nikaš II as the objective (see below).

Assyrian response to a legitimate threat initiated by Te'umman.[63] Te'um-man's attack thus provided an opportunity to promote his clients in Elam.

Despite the evil portents for the Elamite king, Te'umman's resolve was unmoved. "They repeated to me the report. Te'umman, whom Ištar drove insane [literally: "changed the order of his mind"], spoke thus: 'I will not give up until I come and do battle with him [i.e., Ashurbanipal]!'"[64] After Te'um-man (in fear of the Assyrian advance) turned back to Susa, he was forced to pay many of his people "in order to save his life" (ana šūzub napištišu).[65] The significance of this passage is uncertain, especially if interpreted politically, i.e., that Te'umman faced defections and was forced to bribe the people of Susa to fight for him.[66] However, read in a military context, this section refers to Te'umman hiring additional forces (to strengthen his army) and arranging the battle formation.[67]

Battle was joined along the Ūlāya River at Tell Tuba.[68] Ashurbanipal claimed to have filled the river and the plain of Susa with Elamite corpses and to have plundered their equipment. This was only the beginning. The defeat of Te'umman, whose head was cut off and taken to Nineveh, was celebrated in extensive relief carvings at the palaces of Ashurbanipal and Sennacherib at Nineveh.[69] The epigraphs relevant to these sculptures, whether serving as captions or on separate tablets, provide more details of the campaign, but they pose numerous problems and questions for Neo-Elamite history.[70] For example, one epigraph describes the Elamite official Itunî, who was sent with insolence before Ashurbanipal, but is otherwise unknown.[71]

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[63] Ashurbanipal had accused Te'umman of continually seeking evil (BIWA, 98 B v 3-4).

[64] BIWA, 99 B v 20-24.

[65] BIWA, 103ff B v 87. Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 92, locates Bīt-Imbî on the border of Elam in the vicinity of Rāšu.

[66] The text reads (v 86-88) that "... he was afraid, and he turned back [from Dēr]. He entered Susa. Silver (and) gold – in order to save his life – he distributed to the people of his land. His allies going at his side he turned away from him."

[67] Scurlock, "Neo-Assyrian Battle Tactics," 506.

[68] The Ūlāya is identified with various water-courses – the Karun, or southern Kharkheh, is perhaps the best choice. Vallat notes the ancient Ūlāya may no longer exist (Rép. géogr. 11, 338 for bibliography).

[69] The reliefs are published in R. D. Barnett, Scupltures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.) (London, 1976) and R. D. Barnett, E. Bleibtreu, and G. Turner, Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, 2 volumes (London, 1998). See also, J. Reade, "Narrative Composition in Assyrian Sculpture," Bagh. Mitt. 10 (1979), 52-110 and Pl. 14-25 and Russell, Writing on the Wall.

[70] Translations may be found in E. Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen der Kriegs-Reliefs Aššurbānaplis," AfO 8 (1932-33), 175-203; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 22-35; BIWA, 299-307; Barnett et al., Sennacherib, vol. I, 94-96; and Russell, Writing on the Wall, 156-99.

[71] For Itunî as an Elamite name (meaning "I gave it"), see ElOn, 10. The epigraph identifies him as the šūt rēši of Te'umman; see Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 16; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 22-23; BIWA, 302; and Russell, Writing on the Wall, 173-74 (Fig. 57) and 176 (Fig. 59).

The epigraphs contain numerous such references to individuals who do not appear elsewhere in the sources or to individuals homonymous with known Neo-Elamite kings (e.g., Urtak, ḫatānu of Te'umman, and Tammaritu, son of Te'umman). These homonyms complicate attempts to sort out the myriad Neo-Elamite nobility who appear in epigraphs, annals, and letters of the mid-seventh century.

To cite another example, one epigraph describes the wounded Te'umman aided in flight by his eldest son Tammaritu. They were discovered and beheaded.[72] The Tammaritu who became king in Hidalu was the son of Urtak. Here, cousins (sons of the brothers Urtak and Te'umman) shared the same name. But this son of Te'umman is not explicitly identified elsewhere, and there are at least two other Tammaritus differentiated in the sources (see below). Such differentiation is not the norm, however, thus complicating historical analysis.

Some letters may allude to the Te'umman campaign, but the lack of dates lends uncertainty to their chronological assignment and interpretation. ABL 781, written by a certain Marduk-nāṣir, warns that the "herald of the palace" (nāgir ekalli) and the army of all "Upper Elam" (NIM.MA^{KI} elēnīti)[73] are in Bīt-Imbî upon the river Abāni(?).[74] The letter ends with a request that an army be sent to Dēr. A caravan from Laḫīru, bearing wool from Bīt-Imbî, led by the sons of Ina-tēšî-ēṭir[75] gave this report to Marduk-nāṣir on the 13th of Dūzu (IV). This may refer to Te'umman's attack, although no Elamite king is named. However, Edition B records that Te'umman did not assemble his army until the fifth month (Abu). It is possible that ABL 781 refers to another stage of the interminable Elamite-Assyrian struggles during Ashurbanipal's reign, anytime between 653 and the mid-640s. ABL 1063 mentions military activity around Dēr on the 14th of Kislimu (IX).[76] The city of Malakū[77] is prominent as is a certain Zēr-iddin.[78] After the author's report that the king of Elam was

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[72] Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 9; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 31; BIWA, 300f; Barnett et al., Sennacherib, vol. I, 95 No. 382 and vol. II Pl. 293; and Russell, Writing on the Wall, 170-71 (Figs. 53-54) and 174 (Fig. 57).

[73] This reference to "Upper Elam" is the most beguiling part of this letter. Such a designation does not occur elsewhere in the extant sources. It is uncertain whether it refers to a general geographical area, an administrative boundary, or perhaps even a separate kingdom.

[74] Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 364: "Prob. on the Babylonian-Elamite border." This is the only reference to this river. CAD Ḫ, 27 reads a-ma-ni.

[75] An individual with this name was šākin ṭēmi in the third year of Esarhaddon (678 BC); Frame, Babylonia, 279. For further references to Ina-tēšî-ēṭir, see APN, 100 and note two instances of this name in the list of witnesses in BM 79013 r. 18 and 23 (Leichty, "Bel-epuš and Tammaritu," 153-55).

[76] Edition B (v 77f) relates that the attack against Te'umman took place in Ulûlu (VI), but operations related to this campaign may have stretched late into the year.

[77] See Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 218 and Brinkman, Political History, 212 n. 1320.

[78] An individual with this name was rab ālāni in the second year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (666); see Frame, Babylonia, 282.

in Bīt-Imbî (r. 2f), the letter becomes fragmentary. The historical context is uncertain for this letter as well, because the region around Dēr was consistently a focus of Elamite-Assyrian conflict.

The aftermath of the Te'umman campaign also warrants discussion, since its historical implications are significant. Another Elamite king was bested during a mop-up operation against the Gambulu to punish Dunanu, son of Bēl-iqīša, who aided the king of Elam.[79] Edition B describes the punishment dispensed: the head of Te'umman, king of Elam, was hung around the neck of Dunanu, and the head of a certain Ištarnandi was hung around the neck of Samgunu.[80] Ištarnandi is labeled "king of Hidalu" in the following epigraph:

> ᵐ*Umbakidinni* ᴸᵁNIMGIR *ša* ᴷᵁᴿ*Hidali ša* SAG.DU
> *ša* ᵐ*Ištarnandi* LUGAL *ša* ᴷᵁᴿ*Hidali našûni*[81]

> Umbakidinni, the *nāgiru*-official of Hidalu, carries the head
> of Ištarnandi, king of Hidalu

A second Elamite king, Ištarnandi (Elamite *Šutruk-* or *Šutur-Nahhunte*), seemingly concurrent with Te'umman, is unexpected. Though Te'umman and Ištarnandi shared similar fates, no details are provided regarding their political relationship: whether Ištarnandi was independent of or subordinate to Te'umman. The earlier recensions of the annals provide separate campaign numbers for the operations against Te'umman on the one hand and for Gambulu on the other.[82] This may indicate that Ištarnandi ruled as king only after Te'umman's death, though this was not necessarily the case.

It is possible, though speculative, that this Ištarnandi may be one of the Šutruk- or Šutur-Nahhuntes attested in Neo-Elamite inscriptions (except Šutruk-Nahhunte II, r. 717-699). Neo-Elamite sources contain references to at least two kings, perhaps more, of that name. A cylinder seal inscription of Huban-kitin (Akkadian *Umbakidinni*) might be linked to the Ištarnandi/ Šutruk-Nahhunte described in the epigraph above. The inscription reads "Huban-kitin, son of king Šutur-Nahhunte" (ᵛ*hu-ban-ki-tin* DUMU EŠŠANA ᵛ*šu-tur-*ᵈPÍR-*na*). Another possibility is to identify this Šutur-Nahhunte with

the son of Indada mentioned in Hanni's inscriptions. These convolutions are discussed in Appendix B.

The Assyrian annals and epigraphs describe in detail not only the humiliation of Te'umman and Ištarnandi (by the maltreatment and display of their severed heads) but also the fates of the other antagonists. The Elamite officials Huban-tahra and Nabû-damiq, detained when the campaign started, broke into lamentation upon seeing the severed head of Te'umman. Nabû-damiq appears to have attempted suicide, piercing himself with a dagger. The new Elamite king Huban-nikaš II, as a pledge of allegiance, handed over Aplāia (son of Nabû-ušallim and grandson of Merodach-baladan). Dunanu, son of Bēl-iqīša, after wearing Te'umman's head as a macabre necklace, was slaughtered like a sheep in Nineveh. Nabû-na'id and Bēl-ēṭir (sons of Nabû-šum-ēreš, the governor of Nippur, who incited Urtak to attack) were forced to crush their father's bones (brought from Gambulu) in the middle of Nineveh.[83]

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[83] *BIWA*, 106ff B vi 56 - vii 2 (Frame, *Babylonia*, 124-25). For epigraphs and reliefs regarding Huban-tahra and Nabû-damiq and the crushing of Nabû-šum-ēreš's bones, see Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 174-75 and 177 (Fig. 60). See also Barnett et al., *Sennacherib*, vol. I, 97 (No. 386) and vol. II, Pls. 308-313. For Aplāia, see *PNA* 1/I, 117 No. 27.

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[79] *BIWA*, 105-108 B vi 17 - vii 2; see Frame, *Babylonia*, 121-25. Note Massirâ, a chief bowman (*rab qašti*) of Te'umman, who served as the guard (*maṣṣartu*) of Dunanu and lived in Ša-pī-Bēl (vi 39-41).

[80] *BIWA*, 106 B vi 50-51 and variants. See Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 180-81 (Fig. 66).

[81] K 2674+:6-11. Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 3 and *BIWA*, 299. Further detail is supplied by another epigraph (Rm 2,364: Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," 186-87; *BIWA*, 306; and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 158): A fearful Umbakidinni beheaded Ištarnandi, brought the head and threw it before the Assyrian magnates, and seized Ashurbanipal's feet.

[82] Editions B and C assign the defeat of Te'umman to the seventh campaign and of Gambulu to an eighth campaign (*BIWA*, 105 B vi 17 and C vii 10). In the later recensions F and A, the Te'umman and the Gambulu campaigns are combined – the latter introduced with "on my return" (*ina tayyārtiya*; *BIWA*, 38 F ii 74 and A iii 52); see Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 154-57.

CHAPTER FIVE

HUBAN-NIKAŠ II THROUGH INDABIBI (653-648?)

Huban-nikaš II (653-652?)

After Te'umman's defeat, Ashurbanipal installed Huban-nikaš II as king of Elam and Tammaritu (I), Huban-nikaš II's "third brother" (*aḫašu šalšaya*), as king of Hidalu.[1] This move by Ashurbanipal filled the power vacuum that he had just created: the defeat and slaying of Te'umman, king of Elam, and Ištarnandi, king of Hidalu. A relief depicts Huban-nikaš II's installation, literally by the hand of Ashurbanipal's *šūt rēši*. This scene leaves no doubt that the *šūt rēši* was in complete command of the situation. In the accompanying epigraph, Ashurbanipal claimed that Huban-nikaš II was "set on the throne of Te'umman" in Madaktu and Susa.[2] The implication of Ashurbanipal's assertion is that Te'umman ruled both Madaktu and Susa, but Hidalu is not mentioned in this context. That Ashurbanipal found it necessary to appoint two Elamite kings after Tell Tuba (Huban-nikaš II in Madaktu and Susa and Tammaritu I in Hidalu) suggests that Assurbanipal was following a precedent, i.e., that Te'umman and Ištarnandi had ruled concurrently.

A Neo-Babylonian economic text (BM 79013) is dated to the accession year of Tammaritu, who is called therein "king of Elam." It was drafted in Hidalu.[3] It is a strictly Babylonian document, lacking Elamite personal names and originating from a group of Babylonians who lived in Elam during the mid-seventh century. "The assembly of Babylonians" (UKKIN LÚTIN.TIRKI. MEŠ, 1. 3) may be the legal embodiment of this enclave, and the document was probably drafted according to Babylonian law in an expectation of a return to Babylonia, where the document would be legally meaningful.[4]

The document is a testament of Bēl-ēpuš, son of Balāṭu, providing for his wife, daughter, and servants. This individual is not attested elsewhere. Leichty suggests that he was an Assyrian official sent by Ashurbanipal to Hidalu when the king established Tammaritu on the throne,[5] but Bēl-ēpuš may have been a private individual (i.e., a member of a Babylonian merchant colony or a similar group). Assignment of this text to Tammaritu II cannot be excluded, especially in light of the use of "king of Elam" rather than "king of Hidalu," which is the only title used in the annals for Tammaritu I.

Various sources indicate that Elam was made a province of Assyria at this time. In Edition B's account of the installation of Huban-nikaš II and Tammaritu, Ashurbanipal claimed that "the radiance of Aššur and Ištar overwhelmed Elam, and they submitted to my yoke" (*melammu* ᵈ*Aššur u* ᵈ*Ištar* KUR NIM.MAKI *isḫupma iknušū nīriya*).[6] Another text (K 8016), regarding the defeat of Elam, reveals that Ashurbanipal installed "a creation of my own hands" ([*ši*]*kin qātēya*) as king in Elam, settled his people there, and imposed tax and tribute upon the Elamites.[7] These acts imply Assyrian control.

The relationship was codified by treaty, as revealed by the annals in their account of Huban-nikaš II's treachery. Huban-nikaš "did not observe the *adê*-agreement and the oath (*māmīti*) of the great gods."[8] ABL 1380:9-11 also makes reference to Huban-nikaš II breaking the *adê*-agreement.[9] Such an arrangement parallels that between Urtak and Esarhaddon, but that relationship was based on equality. Since Ashurbanipal provided Huban-nikaš sanctuary from Te'umman and secured the throne for him, it is likely that their *adê*-agreement was one of Elamite subordination.

An omen text refers to Ashurbanipal as "king of Assyria (and) king of [El]am."[10] The text is not dated, but it is at least plausible that its historical context is the aftermath of the Te'umman campaign. The query concerns a political appointment, which links it with ABL 839 and 1007+ (see below). However, this context might also apply to the mid-640s, after the campaigns against Huban-haltaš III.[11] But no other period contains as much evidence for Assyrian political control over Elam as does the aftermath of the Te'umman campaign (653-652). After the defeat of Te'umman and Ištarnandi, Ashurbanipal certainly could (and did, by this reconstruction) claim himself king of Elam. His subsequent appointment of Huban-nikaš II and Tammaritu I as

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[1] *BIWA*, 104 B vi 6-9. For the name *Tammaritu*, see R. Zadok, "A Tentative Structural Analysis of Elamite Hypocoristica," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 18 (1983), 115.

[2] See Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 17; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 32; *BIWA*, 302; Barnett et al., *Sennacherib*, vol. I, 97 (No. 385) and vol. II, Pl. 307; and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 175 and 177-78 (Figs. 61-62).

[3] E. Leichty, "Bel-epuš and Tammaritu," *AnSt* 33 (1983), 153-55.

[4] Stolper, *FHE*, 239.

[5] Leichty, "Bel-epuš," 155. M. Stolper argues that Tammaritu's appointment was a political formality, since Hidalu was beyond the reach of the Assyrian armies, and that it was unenforceable by anyone save Huban-nikaš II. Much of what follows is indebted to his unpublished paper "The Neo-Assyrian Province of Elam," presented at the 200th meeting of the American Oriental Society, Atlanta, March, 1990.

[6] *BIWA*, 104 B vi 4-5.

[7] Livingstone, *SAA* III, No. 31, r. 12-17.

[8] *BIWA*, 109 B vii 6.

[9] See Frame, *Babylonia*, 184 and below.

[10] Starr, *SAA* IV, No. 274, ll. 2-3.

[11] So Frame, *Babylonia*, 123-24 n. 117.

kings in Elam demonstrated his command. Just how long Ashurbanipal's control over his protégés remained effective is another matter. Elamite assistance to the Babylonians within a year reveals that any Assyrian domination of Elam was short-lived.

ABL 839 strengthens the hypothesis of Assyrian rule over Elam in 653. It is a copy of a letter written by Nabû-bēl-šumāti during or immediately after the campaign against Teʾumman in 653. Part of the letter relates turmoil in Elam (ll. 8-12). To this copy is appended the letter's main text, directing Ashurbanipal – through the words of Nabû and Marduk – to appoint princes (DUMU.LU[GAL]) as governors (LÚNAM-u-[t]e¹) of Elam and the Sealand.[12] This indicates Assyrian dominion. It is possible that this direction merely reflects the writer's confidence in Ashurbanipal's future success, but it is reasonable to assume that the letter reflects the political reality.

ABL 1007+ (CT 54, 490) implies Assyrian administrative control over at least part of Elam.[13] A governor, whose name is broken away, is placed over the Indaru (r. 22).[14] Other individuals are placed in positions of authority over Susa, Rāšu, Bīt-Bunakki, Ḫilmu, and Pillatu. The use of imperatives and the phrase "seal of the king of the world, Ashurbanipal" ([u]nqa šar kiššati Assur-bāni-apli) suggest a quotation or copy of a royal order. Before the letter breaks away, one thousand archers are mentioned (r. 24) – perhaps providing military support for these appointments.

The individuals mentioned in ABL 1007+ figure prominently in other texts dealing with Elam. Marduk-šar-uṣur (r. 13, 16) may have been the šut rēši who sought to capture Nabû-bēl-šumāti but was imprisoned himself in Elam sometime before Indabibi seized power. He returned to Assyria with Tammaritu II, when that Elamite king fled there after being deposed by Indabibi: "(Tammaritu and his entourage)...with Marduk-šar-uṣur, my šut rēši, whom they carried away by force" (itti Marduk-šar-uṣur šut rēšiya ša ibšimūšu ina danāni).[15] Interpretation of this passage is ambiguous, as there is no information on the relationship between Tammaritu II and Marduk-šar-uṣur. If this is

the same Marduk-šar-uṣur, it may indicate that he had previously been captured and that Tammaritu II then took him to Nineveh as coin to purchase refuge. Milki-râm (ABL 1007+ r. 18) appears with Marduk-šar-uṣur in a fragmentary text dealing with the wars against Elam (CT 54, 524[16]), where Milki-râm is called the rab kāṣir.[17] Bēl-ēṭir (ABL 1007+ r. 15) is also the target of two vituperative texts, which indicate that he had turned against his Assyrian benefactors.[18]

ABL 961 r. 6-9 notes that a Bēl-ēṭir and the sons of the šandabakku are "in the hands of Marduk-šar-uṣur." If these are the same two men named in ABL 1007+, Marduk-šar-uṣur was instrumental in apprehending his fellow appointee. Also in ABL 961, Tammaritu is mentioned twice (10′ and 12′),[19] as are Hidalu (5′ and 13′) and the otherwise unknown city Yaḫdik[20] (6′ and 14′). This letter also contains references to Persians, once in a fragmentary section with Hidalu (l. 4′-5′) and again (r. 3-4) with regard to their not being arranged or secured (taqānu).[21] A striking statement then follows: "Elam and Assyria are yours!" (r. 5-6), confirming that Assyria dominated Elam. The letter is presumably directed to Ashurbanipal, whose name appears in the first extant line. ABL 961 is not dated, but it fits well in context with other sources that argue for Elam as a province of Assyria after Teʾumman's defeat.

The above references suggest that the men listed in ABL 1007+ received those appointments in Elam mentioned generally in ABL 839. Exact dating of these letters between 653 and the mid-640s is difficult, but they do reveal that Assyrian involvement in Elamite affairs increased greatly after 653. Unless the Assyrians' sole purpose was to destabilize Elam, their increased involvement cannot be labeled a successful enterprise. Within a year (652) Ashurbanipal's brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn revolted, and one of his most prominent supporters was Elam. Elam continued to prove a major threat to Assyrian interests. This precipitated further Assyrian action against Elam and, consequently, Elam's collapse. A bewildering succession of kings and rebellions followed during the next several years. Ashurbanipal's installation of Huban-nikaš II and Tammaritu heralded Elam's downfall as a major political and military power in the ancient Near East.

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[12] This letter has recently been published by R. Mattila, "The Political Status of Elam after 653 B.C. according to ABL 839," SAAB 1 (1987), 27-30. Nabû-bēl-šumāti's Neo-Babylonian letter (l. 1 - r. 10) was copied in Neo-Assyrian script. The appended main text (written in Neo-Assyrian dialect and script) is apparently a response to an omen query.

[13] See Cameron, HEI, 209 and Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 255. Both, however, date the letter after 646 (the sack of Susa). Note also a governor (šaknu) in a list of officials at the Assyrian court (F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, Imperial Administrative Records, Part I, Palace and Temple Organization, SAA VII, No. 5 r. i 11). Only the last element of the name (-gi) is preserved. The date of this text is uncertain.

[14] For Indaru, see Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 180.

[15] BIWA, 111f B vii 67f and see below with regard to K 2825; compare CAD B, 139 "..., whom they had carried (with them) by force." Based on Dietrich's restorations of ABL 960, Marduk-šar-uṣur went to Elam willingly in search of food (Aramäer, 172-73, No. 86). The text is badly damaged. A. R. Millard ("Another Babylonian Chronicle Text," Iraq 26 [1964], 28) dates Marduk-šar-uṣur's capture to 651, connecting this letter to a broken passage in the Šamaš-šum-ukīn Chronicle. Marduk-šar-uṣur's name is not preserved in the chronicle, however; see Frame, Babylonia, 179 n. 237.

[16] Published by J. Hämeen-Anttila, "A New Text Relating to Ashurbanipal's Elamite Wars," SAAB 1 (1987), 13-16 and by Livingstone, SAA III, No. 20.

[17] Meaning "chief tailor," described as an honorary title borne by one of the king's magnates (Hämeen-Anttila, "Ashurbanipal's Elamite Wars," 16). He may be the rab kāṣir official, eponym of 656.

[18] Livingstone, SAA III, Nos. 29 and 30. For the name Bēl-ēṭir and references to various individuals of that name, see PNA 1/II, 298-300.

[19] Tammaritu I? Kudurru (Elamite Kudur-Nahhunte) is mentioned with Tammaritu in l. 10′. It is possible that this Kudurru is the son of Huban-haltaš II (and thus cousin of Tammaritu I), who was also received by Ashurbanipal after Teʾumman seized the throne.

[20] See Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 186 and ElW, 1260.

[21] The referent of r. 3-4 (LÚpar-šu-maš ul i-ta-qu-nu) is unclear; for the reading taqānu, see AHw, 1323.

Minimal information regarding Huban-nikaš II's short reign is available, and there are no Elamite inscriptions extant from him. *ABL* 1309 may date to Huban-nikaš II's reign. This fragmentary letter contains reference to Huban-nikaš entering Hidalu. Parsumaš (i.e., Persia) and a son of Huban-nikaš, whose name is broken away, appear in the same context (ll. 15-20). Later in the letter Šamaš-šum-ukīn and one of his officials, Nabû-qātē-ṣabat,[22] are mentioned, apparently with regard to communications with Rāšu (and perhaps Šama'ūnu, mentioned in r. 13). This letter apprises Ashurbanipal of rebel activites. The end of l. 15 is broken, and l. 16 begins with Huban-nikaš. It is uncertain if this refers to the king or a homonymous individual.[23] References to Nabû-qātē-ṣabat and Šamaš-šum-ukīn (l. 26 and r. 2) lend credence to a date during the latter's revolt. If this letter does refer to Huban-nikaš II, his presence in Hidalu offers a parallel to Kudur-Nahhunte's flight from Madaktu to Hidalu. The mention of Parsumaš at this juncture tempts speculation of Persian involvement on Elam's behalf against Assyria, or, conversely, a Persian threat to Elam that Huban-nikaš II had to deal with personally. The letter is too broken to determine the context, however.

Edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals credits Huban-nikaš II's involvement in the Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion to a payment (*ṭa'tu*) from Šamaš-šum-ukīn. Ashurbanipal noted that, even though he had installed Huban-nikaš as king in Elam, Huban-nikaš did not heed the favors done for him and did not keep the *adê*-agreement.[24] If there were reasons that may more satisfactorily explain Huban-nikaš II's actions in turning against his former benefactor, Ashurbanipal did not provide them.

Elamite and Assyrian forces engaged at Mangisi, near Sumandir.[25] The Elamite force is enumerated in some detail. It was lead by Undasi (Elamite *Untaš*), a son of Te'umman. Huban-nikaš II's exhortation of revenge spurred Undasi to avenge his father's defeat and death, those events which allowed Huban-nikaš II his throne.[26] Huban-nikaš was shrewd. Fleeing dynastic upheaval in his homeland, he gained refuge with the enemy (Assyria). Then, with Ashurbanipal's army he returned to Elam and secured the throne, only

to turn against Ashurbanipal a short time later. Further, he enlisted the support of Te'umman's son, thereby (presumably) mollifying elements of the opposition. All this intrigue surpassed him in the end, as he met a fate similar to that of many of his predecessors: violent overthrow and death.[27]

Other key individuals in the Elamite force are also mentioned. Zazaz and Parû, mayors (*hazannū*) of Pillatu and Ḫilmu, respectively, joined Undasi and two Elamite commanders: Attametu and Nêšu. Those messengers of Šamaš-šum-ukīn who convinced Huban-nikaš II to join the rebellion accompanied the Elamite force. Notice of the Assyrian victory is accompanied by the requisite beheading of the rebels.[28] Nêšu is not included in this list, so he may have escaped.

ABL 1380, a letter from Ashurbanipal to Menanu, reveals that Ashurbanipal had some partisans in Elam.[29] This is not surprising, but there are few direct indications to that effect. This Menanu's activities identify him as one such partisan. Ashurbanipal summarized Menanu's previous report: Menanu slew a certain Šimbur, who is described in an epigraph as a *nāgiru* of Elam (if the same individual is meant).[30] Menanu had described Šimbur as one for whom Ashurbanipal did many favors but who had broken his *adê*-agreement. After having described Huban-nikaš in similar terms as Šimbur, Menanu noted that he would proceed to visit Ashurbanipal's vengeance upon Huban-nikaš.

Ashurbanipal then referred to messages sent to Menanu and Tammaritu. Assyria may have been involved in Tammaritu's efforts to overthrow Huban-nikaš II.[31] Ashurbanipal admonished Menanu that he has not received reports from him for several months (r. 2-3), and he questioned how Menanu could allow Assyrian messengers to be detained for two years without comment. This letter is difficult to interpret, since Ashurbanipal was seemingly well-disposed to Menanu, despite Menanu's recent lack of communication. In a letter to the people of the Sealand (dated to 650), Ashurbanipal called Nabû-bēl-šumāti "the prostitute of Menanu" (*ABL* 289:7-8). If this is the same Menanu as in *ABL* 1380, then at some time in or before 650 Menanu turned against Ashurbanipal by his support of Nabû-bēl-šumāti.

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[22] He is identified as the *simmagir*-official who, with Nabû-bēl-šumāti, sought to spur Elam into action against Assyria (*BIWA*, 60 A vii 47-50). See Frame, *Babylonia*, 54 n. 100.

[23] This also could have been the Huban-nikaš, son of Amedirra, of *ABL* 280 r. 16. Note also *ABL* 290, where a Huban-nikaš is involved with Sin-šar-uṣur's slandering and plotting against the latter's brother Sin-tabni-uṣur (the author of the letter). See Frame, *Babylonia*, 166 n. 165. A Huban-nikaš also appears in the fragmentary *ABL* 1127:9 in context with Dēr. Waterman dates *ABL* 1127 (*RCAE* III, 306) to the time of Sargon, identifying this Elamite as Huban-nikaš I.

[24] *BIWA*, 108f B vii 3-8. For an extensive account of the rebellion, with references, see Frame, *Babylonia*, Chapter Eight. Only Elamite activities will be discussed here.

[25] The site of this battle appears to be in the northeast, perhaps in the Diyala region. See Frame's discussion of this battle in *Babylonia*, Appendix D. This battle at Mangisi should be distinguished from the one described in the Akītu Chronicle and an astronomical diary (BM 32312) at Ḫirītu.

[26] *BIWA*, 109 B vii 22-24.

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[27] *BIWA*, 41 A iv 1-2. Huban-nikaš II was overthrown soon after his army's defeat, presumably in 652 but he may have ruled into 651 (see below and Frame, *Babylonia*, 184). The annals give no clear indication of the amount of time that elapsed between the defeat of Undasi and Huban-nikaš II's overthrow. Compare below, p. 80 n. 59.

[28] *BIWA*, 109 B vii 7-9 and 27 (for the messengers of Šamaš-šum-ukīn) and 110 B vii 30-35 for the Assyrian victory.

[29] I thank Simo Parpola for supplying me with his transliteration and translation of *ABL* 1380.

[30] Written ^m*si-im-bu-ru*: Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 2; *BIWA*, 299; and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 158.

[31] This is not straightforward, however, since much of the content of the messages sent to Menanu and Tammaritu (ll. 14f) is elided. Also, this section of the letter (end of the obverse side) is broken.

Tammaritu (II) (652?-649?)

Tammaritu II was king of Elam by the eleventh month of 651, as revealed by an extispicy report that sought to determine if he would attack Nippur.[32] Such an attack would presumably have occurred only after that city fell to Assyria, sometime between Kislīmu (IX) and Šabattu (XI) of 651.[33] To the Assyrians, Tammaritu's succession apparently mattered little, since Assyrian-Elamite relations were essentially unchanged. Ashurbanipal noted Tammaritu's misdeeds: accepting *ṭa'tu*, failing to acknowledge Ashurbanipal's kingship, and aiding Šamaš-šum-ukīn.[34]

At least fifteen letters[35] concern Tammaritu I, Tammaritu II, or Tammaritu, son of Te'umman. With few exceptions, it cannot be determined with certainty which one is indicated in a particular letter. Other texts confirm that the new king must be distinguished from Huban-nikaš II's "third brother" Tammaritu (I):[36]

K 2654:18′[37]	*Tammaritu apil *Ummanigaš-ma aḫi abišu...
	Tammaritu, heir of Huban-nikaš, brother of his father... [38]
K 1364:14[39]	[*Tammarit]u la aḫi *Ummanigaš
	[Tammarit]u, who is not the brother of Huban-nikaš
Edition A vi 55[40]	ṣalam *Tammaritu arkû...
	the statue of Tammaritu the second...

There are no extant Elamite inscriptions of Tammaritu II.

K 2654 indicates that Tammaritu II was another member of the extended royal family, specifically a nephew of Huban-nikaš II. The name of Tammaritu II's father, however, is not given. There is the possibility that Tammaritu II is the son of Tammaritu I, but there is no direct evidence for it. As Tammaritu I warranted earlier mention in the annals, one would expect the

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[32] Starr, *SAA* IV, No. 289 (*ABL* 1195). Another extispicy report (*SAA* IV, No. 281; dated Abu? – against Starr's Addaru – 651, see Frame, *Babylonia*, 145 n. 56) sought to determine whether the Elamites would join the war, but no specific Elamite king is named. If a date in the month of Abu is accepted, this request was soon followed by another regarding Šamaš-šum-ukīn's rumored flight to Elam (*SAA* IV, No. 282), dated VII/15/651. The omens were unfavorable. See Frame, *Babylonia*, 146-47 and 184.

[33] Frame, *Babylonia*, 149, based on economic texts dated to Šamaš-šum-ukīn and Ashurbanipal.

[34] *BIWA*, 42 B vii 47-51.

[35] *ABL* 268, 282, 284, 295, 960, 961, 1022, 1040, 1116, 1130, 1148, 1195, 1260, 1311+, 1380, 1400, 1459, 1464; *CT* 54, 487 and 520.

[36] Stolper, *Elam*, 51 and n. 403; Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 177-79; and Frame, *Babylonia*, 183 n. 264.

[37] *BIWA*, 83.

[38] In this context, *aplu* must be translated as "heir"; see *CAD*, A/II, 173f.

[39] Bauer, *Asb.*, 51-52.

[40] *BIWA*, 54.

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connection to be made in this context, rather than the oblique reference to Huban-nikaš as "brother of his father."

It is during Tammaritu II's reign that Ashurbanipal's loyal servant Bēl-ibni was appointed to the Sealand. Much of Bēl-ibni's correspondence is extant.[41] The lack of dates in most of these letters results in the usual difficulties of establishing chronological precision. Nevertheless, his correspondence provides much information regarding Elam's internal politics and relations with Assyria. Ashurbanipal assigned Bēl-ibni to the Sealand in Ayaru (II), 650.[42] Bēl-ibni's origins are obscure. *ABL* 1106 mentions Bēl-ibni's father (r. 13′-16′), but the passage is problematic.[43] *ABL* 521 may indirectly allude to Bēl-ibni's origins. Bēl-ibni expressed gratitude for the kindness that Ashurbanipal did him, notably the gift of a statue: either the likeness of or the property of Merodach-baladan (ll. 8-11). This has led to the interesting, but unproven, speculation that Bēl-ibni may have been a descendant of Merodach-baladan.[44]

ABL 795+ (*CT* 54, 555) reflects Bēl-ibni's rise in status, wherein he quoted a letter of Ashurbanipal naming him the *turtānu*[45] of the army. Bēl-ibni remained loyal to the king as far as can be determined, but *ABL* 291 contains Ashurbanipal's rebuke of Bēl-ibni for an unspecified breach of his authority. In this letter, Ashurbanipal referred to Bēl-ibni as his courtier (*manzaz pāniya*, ll. 13-14), so perhaps this infraction occurred before Bēl-ibni was granted the rank of *turtānu*. If so, Bēl-ibni's hubris was minor or forgiven quickly.

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[41] For an extensive discussion of Bēl-ibni, including transliterations and translations of his letters, see J. M. C. T. de Vaan, "*Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs*": *Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, AOAT 242 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995). See also *PNA* 1/II, 306-10.

[42] *ABL* 289:9-12. *ABL* 267 r. 11-12 refers to Bēl-ibni as *ša-rēši ša* [*šarri*]; *ABL* 291:14 as *manzaz pāni*); and *CT* 54, 545 may refer to him as *šākin ṭēmi* (Frame, *Babylonia*, 180 and notes). See also de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 33-34 and *PNA* 1/II, 307.

[43] The letter's author (Nabû-ušabši?) states that Ashurbanipal gave the Sealand to his brother, Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur (^{md}NÀ.NÌ.DU.ŠEŠ ŠEŠ) – with haplography. In the next line, the author continued that Bēl-ibni, the son (or heir) of Nabû-mukīn-aḫi (^{md}NÀ.DU.ŠEŠ)(?) was not pleased. The similarities between the two names brings to question whether the name in l. 14′ should be emended to read ^{md}NÀ.[NÌ].DU.ŠEŠ, under the assumption that the same individual is meant there as in lines 13′ and 17′. A straightforward reading of the text (i.e., Nabû-mukīn-aḫi in r. 14′) seems preferable, but the instance of haplography in r. 13′ suggests the possibility of additional scribal error in r. 14′. However, the error would be more significant in the latter: the omission of a crucial element (NÌ) in the name itself. Also, emending the name in r. 14′ to Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur makes it difficult to explain why Bēl-ibni would be displeased with his father Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur. Following the text as written and reading Nabû-mukīn-aḫi eliminates this potential problem. *CAD* M/I, 64, reads Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur throughout this passage, as does Frame, *Babylonia*, 159 n. 122. Dietrich, *Aramäer*, 93 n. 4 and de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 31 read Bēl-ibni, son of Nabû-mukīn-aḫi.

[44] See Frame, *Babylonia*, 179 n. 240, citing A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), 453. Compare de Vaan's reading of this passage, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 270-74.

[45] For *turtānu*, see above, p. 22 n. 67.

Very little may be discerned of Tammaritu II's reign, in part because the extant letters rarely distinguish Tammaritu I and Tammaritu II (see above). The annals record that Tammaritu II sent troops in support of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, and this is followed by reference to Tammaritu II's overthrow,[46] which occurred sometime in or before 649 (see below with regard to *ABL* 1151). Edition A of Assurbanipal's annals notes Tammaritu II's presence at the beheading of Te'umman, where Tammaritu II questioned the necessity of the beheading being done before Te'umman's troops and expressed indignation at Huban-nikaš II's obeisance before Assurbanipal's messengers.[47] Tammaritu II's defense of Te'umman and antipathy toward Huban-nikaš II indicate that Tammaritu II was a partisan of Te'umman.[48]

Indabibi (649?–648?)

Indabibi, whom the annals label "his [i.e., Tammaritu II's] servant," revolted against Tammaritu II and seized the throne.[49] Edition B notes that Tammaritu II's servants fought and slew each other. Tammaritu II fled before Ashurbanipal, accompanied by his family and eighty-five nobles (*rubê*).[50] Two epigraphs relate their flight by boat into southern Babylonia, probably through the Persian Gulf (*ina qereb marrati*).[51] Tammaritu II became Ashurbanipal's servant and dwelt in his palace.[52]

ABL 282:6-16 refers to the flight of one Šumâ, son of Šumu-iddin, son of Gaḫal, nephew of Tammaritu, of the tribe Daḫḫa'. Bēl-ibni, the author of the letter, promised to send Šumâ along to Ashurbanipal, after Šumâ had recovered from his illness. This episode may be related to the flight of Tammaritu II and his family and supporters, although it is possible that it happened at a later time.[53]

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[46] *BIWA*, 41-42 B vii 49-55.

[47] Ibid., 42-43 (A iv 12-22) and 110-11 (G1B II' 38'-45').

[48] Note also the discussion above (p. 61) regarding *ABL* 1380.

[49] *BIWA*, 110 (B vii 54ff) and 42 (F iii 19ff and A iv 11ff).

[50] *BIWA*, 110-11 B vii 58-63.

[51] Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 69-70 and *BIWA*, 315. The former relates that Tammaritu's boat became stuck in mud and sediment but was saved from mishap by a certain Kili-x. The end is broken. The second epigraph relates that Tammaritu sailed into the sea and was offered asylum by Ashurbanipal.

[52] *BIWA*, 110-12 B vii 58-76.

[53] See Frame, *Babylonia*, 168 n. 175. Šumâ's ancestry may be significant for relations between the Gaḫal family and Elam: a sister of Tammaritu married into this family. As Stolper notes (*apud* Brinkman, *Prelude*, 30 n. 148), "it is at least conceivable" that the use of "sister's-son" in describing Šumâ's relationship to Tammaritu could imply a genealogical claim to the Elamite throne in the Gaḫal family. Nergal-ušēzib, whom the Elamites put on the Babylonian throne in 694, was also a member of the Gaḫal. For Gaḫal, see *PNA* 1/II, 418-19.

A broken text (K 2825[54]) provides details of some members of Tammaritu's entourage. Listed before seventeen kinsmen (*qinnū*) and eighty-six[55] nobles, for whom no names are provided, the following individuals appear:

Tammaritu, king of Elam

Ummanaldaš (Elamite *Huban-haltaš*)

Para-x...

Ummanaldasi (Elamite *Huban-haltaš*), son of Te'umman, king of Elam[56]

Ummanamni (Elamite *Huban-amnu*), son of Ummanpi' (Elamite *Huban-api*?),[57] son of Urtak, king of Elam

Ummanamni (Elamite *Huban-amnu*), grandson of Ummanaldasi (Elamite *Huban-haltaš* [II?]), king [of Elam]

Sons or grandsons of three of the four preceding kings (save Huban-nikaš II) accompany Tammaritu. Marduk-šar-uṣur also appears in this context.[58] Two attestations of Ummanamni (Elamite *Huban-amnu*) within the same inscription highlight the profusion of homonymous Elamites in the Assyrian sources, a profusion that convolutes attempts to differentiate these numerous royal Elamites. Neither Huban-haltaš mentioned in K 2825 is identifiable with Indabibi's successor, Huban-haltaš III. The annals identify Huban-haltaš III as the son of Attametu (see below). The patronymic of the first Huban-haltaš is not given, but it is nowhere noted that Indabibi's successor Huban-haltaš III ever fled to Assyria before his rule in Elam.

Bēl-ibni's presence in the Sealand at the time of Tammaritu's flight dates Indabibi's revolt sometime after Ayaru (II), 650: the date of Bēl-ibni's appointment. Relations thawed between Elam and Assyria, if only briefly. Ashurbanipal referred to Indabibi as "my brother" in *ABL* 1151. This letter is dated by eponym to 649, probably early in Indabibi's reign. The rest of it is fragmentary.

The annals stereotypically attribute this positive change in relations, as reflected in Ashurbanipal's salutation to Indabibi in *ABL* 1151, to Indabibi's

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[54] Streck, *Asb.*, 206f ll. 4'-6'. *ABL* 284:6-14 records that Bēl-ibni sent Tammaritu and his entourage to Ashurbanipal. The Elamites must have fled into southern Babylonia and been delivered first to Bēl-ibni.

[55] Edition B (*BIWA*, 111 vii 63) refers to eighty-five nobles (see above), and *CT* 54, 287:2-4 refers to forty nobles.

[56] See also K 4457+ (Rm 2,305): Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 74, r. 57 and *BIWA*, 317.

[57] Note Huban-amnu in *MDP* 9, 93 r. 7. The Elamite form of *Ummanpi'* is uncertain, but the Akkadian form *um-man-ap-pi* occurs in K 4457+ (Rm 2,305): Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 73 r. 56 and *BIWA*, 317; see *ElOn*, 6. An epigraph from the same text (No. 75 r. 58) names another son of Ummanappi: Umbakidinnu (Elamite *Huban-kitin*) son of Ummanappi, son of Urtak, king of Elam. Ummanappi, son of Urtak, fled with several of his brothers and cousins to Assyria in 653.

[58] Line 9. For Marduk-šar-uṣur, see above, pp. 58-59.

recognition of Assyrian might. But the different recensions are contradictory with regard to some Assyrian prisoners. Edition B relays that Nabû-bēl-šumāti betrayed Ashurbanipal and imprisoned those whom the Assyrian king had sent to aid him. Nabû-bēl-šumāti must have sent these prisoners to Elam, but Indabibi released them. These prisoners were perhaps taken before Indabibi took the throne, or, if not, Nabû-bēl-šumāti must not have had proper intelligence regarding Indabibi's sympathies. Edition B ends its account of Elam with the notation that Indabibi sent assurances of "goodwill and peace" (*ṭūbi u sulummê*).[59]

However, Edition C (compiled after Edition B) provides a different perspective. Ashurbanipal sent a message to Indabibi demanding the release of those Assyrians with Nabû-bēl-šumāti. If Indabibi did not comply, Ashurbanipal threatened to destroy his cities; to carry off the people of Susa, Madaktu, and Hidalu; and to put another on the Elamite throne. This messenger never reached Indabibi. Once the Elamites learned of this threat, they revolted, slew Indabibi, and put Huban-haltaš III on the throne. [60]

Edition A (later than both Editions B and C[61]) does not specifically mention Huban-haltaš III in the context of Indabibi's overthrow. Since the annals do not always follow strict chronological order, it is uncertain if Edition C represents the actual sequence of events. There is no clear evidence that Huban-haltaš III held power while the Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion was in progress. Frame suggests the possibility that Babylon's fall may have hastened Indabibi's end, since the Elamites then may have perceived imminent Assyrian action.[62] The supposition that Indabibi ruled into 648 is tenable.

The conflicting accounts in the annals pose problems, especially that of Edition C. It cannot be easily reconciled with the peaceful relations indicated by Ashurbanipal's friendly salutation (*ABL* 1151) or the return of the Assyrian prisoners (Edition B). These other sources indicate good relations between Assyria and Elam, and there may have been an *adê*-agreement.[63] But even if there was such an agreement, Assyria certainly was the dominant partner.

Indabibi soon followed his predecessors in opposition to Assyria. *ABL* 622+ describes messengers of Indabibi bearing a letter to his *nāgiru*, which

was intercepted. The author of the letter[64] believed that an Elamite attack was imminent (ll. 13ff), but he reassured Ashurbanipal that the *nāgiru* and his forces would become fearful and would not advance (r. 8-10). Several other letters contain references to Indabibi (or a homonymous individual), but they are fragmentary.[65]

Edition C's account fits better in the context of *ABL* 622+. Perhaps two groups of prisoners were at issue, though both Editions C and B seem to describe the same event. Edition C probably reflects Assyrian editing to cast Indabibi in a negative light, after his move toward hostility. Edition C's account of Indabibi's overthrow (i.e., on account of Ashurbanipal's threat to attack Elam) may contain some truth, but there is certainly more to the story. Ashurbanipal's threat was no doubt viewed as credible, but factional struggle (spurred or not by Assyria) was a main factor underlying Huban-haltaš III's accession.

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[64] Perhaps Bēl-ibni, but possibly Enlil-bāni, governor of Nippur. See de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 276 for discussion and references.

[65] *ABL* 1125 mentions an Indabibi and his brother Uraš-? (otherwise unknown); see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, 106 n. 5 and 194-95. Other letters: *ABL* 1167; 1323 (also mentioning Nabû-bēl-šumāti); 1459 (also mentioning Tammaritu); *CT* 54, 195; and *CT* 54, 282 (also mentioning Marduk-šar-uṣur and Ummanšibar). De Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 26 attributes the last two letters to Bēl-ibni.

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[59] *BIWA*, 112-13 B vii 77-92. For Nabû-bēl-šumāti's career, see F. Malbran-Labat, "Nabû-bēl-šumāte, Prince du Pays-de-la-Mer," *JA* 263 (1975), 7-37.

[60] *BIWA*, 153-55 C ix 59-86 and see P. Gerardi, "Declaring War in Mesopotamia," *AfO* 33 (1986), 33. Edition B was written in the eponymy of Aḫu-ilā'i (649), while Edition C was written in the eponymy of [Nabû]-nādin-aḫi (647 or 646).

[61] Edition A was written in the eponymy of Šamaš-da''inanni, which is typically dated between 644 and 642; see Frame, *Babylonia*, 28 and J. Reade, "Assyrian eponyms, kings and pretenders, 648-605 BC," *Or.* 67 (1998), 256-57 and references.

[62] *Babylonia*, 185-86.

[63] *BIWA*, 112-13 B vii 89-92. Editions F and A do not include the return of Assyrian prisoners. Edition K is too fragmentary to determine anything regarding Indabibi. See Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 159-75.

CHAPTER SIX

HUBAN-HALTAŠ III (648?-645?)

Huban-haltaš III (648?-645?)

With Indabibi overthrown, Huban-haltaš III became king of Elam – a distinction that apparently held little meaning by the early 640s, as Elam was in disarray. It is not clear when Huban-haltaš III became king, but this presumably occurred sometime after Babylon fell to the Assyrians (see above, p. 66). The last extant economic document from Babylon dated to Šamaš-šum-ukīn is V/30/648. This is the earliest date for the end of the rebellion, and Babylon was probably in Assyrian hands shortly thereafter, certainly by the end of 648.[1]

ABL 460 (from Bēl-ibni to Ashurbanipal) records that Ummanšibar and other nobles had sparked a widespread revolt in Elam but that they were in fear of Assyrian forces (ll. 8'-11'). The troops of the king would not delay in Dēr but would pursue and seize Nabû-bēl-šumāti and free Assyrian prisoners (ll. 11' - r. 2). These activities fit well in the context of the aftermath of the Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion. Ummanšibar and others are mentioned in a similar context, in flight southward from Assyrian forces in *ABL* 281:10-17.

ABL 460 also relates the release of Bēl-ibni's older brother Bēlšunu (r. 3-11) from Nabû-bēl-šumāti's prison. A chronological clue is given in r. 4-5: "...these four years, ever since Nabû-bēl-šumāti, rejected by Bēl, accursed by the gods, rebelled" (4 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *agâ ultu muḫḫi ša sikiptu* ᵈEN *arrat ilāni* ᵐᵈ*Nabû-bēl-šumāti ikkiru*). The exact date of Nabû-bēl-šumāti's rebellion is uncertain, but he was hostile at the beginning of 651 at the latest. An extispicy report dated I/4/651 reveals that Nabû-bēl-šumāti broke faith with Ashurbanipal and was gathering archers in Elam.[2] From that date, inclusive counting indicates that Bēl-ibni rescued his brother in 648, while exclusive counting indicates that the rescue occurred in 647.

Another of Bēl-ibni's letters (*ABL* 521) reveals that a *nāgiru*, whose name is not given, rebelled against the king of Elam and slew the king's brother (r.

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[1] Frame, *Babylonia*, 155-56.

[2] Starr, *SAA* IV, No. 280.

16-17). This *nāgiru* may be Ummanšibar, who appears to bear the title *nāgiru* in *ABL* 281:10-11, but this is uncertain.[3] In *ABL* 521, Bēl-ibni also reported that Nabû-bēl-šumāti fled to Hudimiri in fear (r. 21-24) and that Bēl-ibni would return to the Sealand (r. 25-28).[4] An earlier section of the letter refers to loyalty oaths imposed upon people in Kissik and upon the entire Sealand (r. 7-15). The date of this event is uncertain, perhaps soon after Bēl-ibni received his commission to the Sealand (II/650) or at some point near the end of the Šamaš-šum-ukīn revolt.[5] The latter seems more likely, since Nabû-bēl-šumāti's flight to Hudimiri removed him from the area of action. As Nabû-bēl-šumāti's operations were centered in southern Babylonia and perhaps Khuzistan, this flight to Hudimiri seems extreme. It may signal that the revolt in the Sealand had been crushed.

Ummanšibar must have rebelled during 648 or 647, though against which king – Indabibi or Huban-haltaš – is unknown.[6] As this discussion of Ummanšibar reveals, contemporary Elamite politics went beyond the struggle between Indabibi and Huban-haltaš. If Huban-haltaš III did not lead the revolt against Indabibi, he was the primary beneficiary – at least from the Assyrian perspective: Assyrian sources attribute kingship to him after Indabibi's overthrow. The annals identify Huban-haltaš III's father as Attametu, which may be a rendering of the Elamite *Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak*.[7] This Attametu shares the same name as a chief bowman (*rab qašti*) of Huban-nikaš II, who was beheaded after the battle of Mangisi,[8] but it is not certain if this is the same individual.

Ashurbanipal's first campaign against Huban-haltaš III began in the month Simānu (III), but the year is not given.[9] The dates of this campaign and its follow-up are open to question. On the assumption that Ashurbanipal launched no major campaign until after the fall of Babylon (after V/648), III/647

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[3] The logogram for *nāgiru* appears before his name, so it may refer to another individual whose name is not given. In other exemplars (see *CAD* N/I, 117-18) this title occurs after the personal name.

[4] Nabû-bēl-šumāti's name is not preserved, but the epithets used for him are (see Frame, *Babylonia*, 177 n. 226). The only other attestation of Hudimiri occurs when the king of that land, along with Cyrus of Parsumaš, brought tribute to Ashurbanipal after the second campaign against Huban-haltaš III (*BIWA*, 191-92 Edition H2 ii 7'-25'). This reference suggests a location in or near Fars, indicating that, at the time of *ABL* 521, Nabû-bēl-šumāti fled deep into Elamite territory and perhaps beyond. For Hudimiri, see Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 164.

[5] Frame, *Babylonia*, 180 and n. 246.

[6] *CT* 54, 282 mentions Ummanšibar and Indabibi in lines 11-12, but the letter is extremely broken. The relationship between the two cannot be ascertained.

[7] *BIWA*, 155 ix 83-86 (Edition C) and 156 ll. 9-12 (K 2656+). For Attametu as Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, see *ElOn*, 7 and Stolper, *Royal City*, 199. The Elamite inscriptions of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak are discussed in Chapter Seven (pp. 85-87).

[8] *BIWA*, 110 B vii 30-35.

[9] *BIWA*, 45 A iv 110. The most extensive accounts of the campaigns survive in Editions A iv 110 - v 62 and F iii 33- iv 16 (*BIWA*, 45-49). For comparison of the recensions, see Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 181-99.

is the logical choice for the beginning of the first campaign. However, since Babylon had been under siege since Dûzu (IV) of 650,[10] it is conceivable that Ashurbanipal felt comfortable attacking Elam before the city fell. Thus, a date of III/648 for the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III is not out of the question. But at least one copy of Edition D (which ends with Indabibi as king of Elam) of the annals is dated to V/648, and this argues against dating the first campaign to that year.[11] However, if the campaign had not been finished by V/648 its omission from Edition D would not be surprising.

Bīt-Imbî was a main focus of the campaign, though several border areas were taken and plundered along the way: Ḫilmu, Pillatu, Dummuqu, Sulaya, Laḫīru, and Dibirīna. Bīt-Imbî is described as a "royal city" (āl šarrūti) and the "city of Elam's security that like a great wall blocks Elam" (āl tuklāte ša Elamti ša kīma dūri rabê pan Elamti parku).[12] This description implies that Bīt-Imbî served as an important defensive fortification. Edition A includes a history lesson. The above description of Bīt-Imbî accompanies an account of Sennacherib's conquest of Bīt-Imbî maḫrû (i.e., "the previous Bīt-Imbî"). A second city was built there, and the conquest of this second Bīt-Imbî is introduced with the phrase "in the course of my [Ashurbanipal's] campaign."[13] Certain Elamites warranted special mention in the context of this phase of the campaign. Foremost among them was the Elamite commander Imbappi, who was entrusted with the command at Bīt-Imbî.[14] This Imbappi was described as a chief bowman (rab qašti) of Elam in Edition F (iii 53) but the qīpu-official of Bīt-Imbî and a son- or brother-in-law (ḫatānu) of Huban-haltaš III in Edition A (v 1-2). His close ties to the king and charge of this important place (i.e., the head of a major military installation) mark him as a man of importance. He was bound and sent to Assyria.

Ashurbanipal also captured the queen (MÍÉ.GAL[15]) and some sons (whose names are not given) of his inveterate foe Te'umman. They submitted to Ashurbanipal and were counted as booty.[16] After the defeat of Te'umman and

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[10] Grayson, Chronicles, 130 l. 19.

[11] See below, Appendix C and Frame, Babylonia, Appendix E for discussion of the dating of these campaigns, which are dated herein to 647 (first campaign) and 646 (second campaign).

[12] BIWA, 46 A iv 123-125 and F iii 46-48.

[13] BIWA, 46 iv 123-132. See Luckenbill, Senn., 39 iv 64 for the previous Bīt-Imbî. For the location of Bīt-Imbî in Rāšu, see Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8, 92.

[14] ElW, 753 interprets Imbappi as a shortening of Elamite Huban-ahpi; cf. ElOn, 6 and 11f (Huban-api) and see PNA 1/I, 99 "Ambappi." Ambap[pi] was the recipient of a letter from Ashurbanipal (ABL 1260), wherein Ashurbanipal wrote to Ambappi and the Rāšians of the good things that he did for Elam (ll. 5-11). The letter provides further context for Ashurbanipal's attack against Elam, and it was probably sent before his first campaign against Huban-haltaš III to warn Ambappi and the Rāšians. The chronology and circumstances allow the provisional identification of this Ambappi with the Imbappi at Bīt-Imbî.

[15] This is the Neo-Assyrian logogram for "queen"; see S. Parpola, "The Neo-Assyrian Word for 'Queen,'" SAAB 2 (1988), 73-76.

[16] BIWA, 47 A v 6-10.

appointment of Ashurbanipal's client Huban-nikaš II, this city on the fringe of Elamite territory may have provided Te'umman's family safety from Elamite political machinations. Te'umman's family's presence at Bīt-Imbî suggests that the intervening rulers did not see fit or feel compelled to kill them. Any role they may have played in the current politics is unknown. CT 54, 567 also lists prisoners: a chief eunuch (rab ša rēši); a certain Šikdê(?), described as a rab qašti and a brother of Huban-haltaš III; and the wife (here termed aššatu, with the logogram DAM) and sons of Te'umman. The first two prisoners listed here were killed, but the letter provides no information on the fate of Te'umman's family.

When he heard of the Assyrians' approach, Huban-haltaš III abandoned Madaktu ("his royal city") and fled to "his mountain."[17] Huban-haltaš III's flight opened the door for another to claim the kingship. The annals describe Umbaḫabua (Elamite Huban-habua[18]) as miḫret Ummanaldaš. The word miḫirtu literally means "counterpart" or "equivalent" and, in prepositional use, "in front of" or "in the likeness of." The sense "in opposition to" seems the most appropriate translation here, i.e., "in opposition to Huban-haltaš."[19] Huban-habua was not called "king" (šarru) even though he did sit upon the "throne of Elam," which presumably was tantamount to reigning as king. The extent and duration of Huban-habua's rule are uncertain. The only certainty is that he was in a position to claim what the Assyrians viewed as the "throne of Elam" upon Huban-haltaš III's flight from Madaktu. Whether this claim was based upon an official position or force of arms is unknown. As Huban-haltaš III yet lived, Huban-habua's action was probably construed – among some Elamites at least – as an act of rebellion. It was short-lived. Huban-habua too fled before the Assyrian advance: "like fish he took to the deep, distant waters."[20] The annals name his dwelling as Bupila, described here as the "city of the dwelling of his lordship" (āl mūšab belūtišu), which modern commentators locate in Susiana.[21] Huban-habua does not reappear in the sources, and nothing else is known of him.

The annals' account then turns to Tammaritu II, who accompanied the Assyrian army. Tammaritu must have ingratiated himself with Ashurbanipal

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[17] Ibid., A v 11-14. The significance of this phrase is obscure. No specific information is provided regarding the place of refuge to which Huban-haltaš III fled in the mountains. After the second campaign against him, the survivors of numerous cities fled to Salatri, described as an "inaccessible mountain" (šadû marṣu); BIWA, 60-61 A vii 58-78. To my knowledge, this toponym is not attested elsewhere.

[18] So Cameron, HEI, 199 and Stolper, Elam, 51. See ElOn, 9 and ElW, 49.

[19] See CAD M/II, 52 and BIWA, 238 (A v 17).

[20] BIWA, 47 A v 15-20. Note that this is part of the annals' stock phraseology for an enemy king's reaction when faced with the Assyrian army. See Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 193.

[21] Vallat, Rép. géogr. 11, 51. This toponym is listed among others which Ashurbanipal conquered in the environs of Susa. For references, see Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms, 93. Bupila also appears frequently in the Neo-Elamite economic texts from Susa (see below, pp. 93-97)

in Nineveh, after he fled there from Indabibi. Ashurbanipal installed Tammaritu II as king, no doubt hoping for greater success than with his previous, ill-fated attempt (i.e., Huban-nikaš II and Tammaritu I). Ashurbanipal installed Tammaritu II at Susa rather than at Madaktu or Hidalu, to which his previous clients were dispatched. The reasons for this are unknown. Perhaps Ashurbanipal was not successful in securing Madaktu and could not install Tammaritu there.

The annals make an immediate transition from Tammaritu II's installation as king to his treachery. In light of his previous flight to Assyria, this defiance was probably calculated to win over the Elamites. The chronology of Tammaritu II's second tenure as king of Elam is uncertain, but some letters suggest that Tammaritu's treachery – or at least Assyrian retribution – was not immediate (see below). If the two campaigns against Huban-haltaš III occurred approximately one year apart, Tammaritu II may have ruled in Susa for several months.

If Tammaritu counted on meaningful support from his compatriots, he miscalculated. He was captured, stripped of power, and brought before Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, his overthrow vaguely attributed to Ashur and Ištar.[22] His fate was not a pleasant one. A later reference in Edition A describes Tammaritu, along with other captured kings, being forced to pull Ashurbanipal's carriage.[23] Ashurbanipal at this time may have given up on any ideas of ruling Elam by proxy, as there is no further evidence of such attempts. But this lack of evidence may simply reflect a lack of source material.

The account of the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III concludes with a list of twenty-nine cities plundered and booty taken to Assyria. The precise location of many of these cities is uncertain, but those that are identifiable indicate that the conquered territories were along the Babylonian-Elamite border or in Khuzistan. There is no direct indication that Assyrians penetrated into the highlands of Elam during this campaign.

Some of Bēl-ibni's letters complement our knowledge of the events. Many of them concern fighting in specific locales and prisoners taken, and the pursuit of Nabû-bēl-šumāti occupied much clay as well. The events described within these letters are difficult to pinpoint within the years 649-645,[24] but they reveal much information that the annals either gloss over or ignore. For example, some of the letters reveal that the first campaign against Huban-haltaš came on two fronts:[25] one against Bīt-Imbî in the north and the other

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[22] *BIWA*, 48 A v 29-35.

[23] *BIWA*, 70-71 A x 6-30 and see below.

[24] Compare de Vaan's chronology of Bēl-ibni's letters and his activities in Elam, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 27-30 and 53-65. Chronological assignment of these letters remains speculative in most cases and there are several that may be assigned either before (e.g., during the Šamaš-šum-ukīn revolt) or after the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III.

[25] Cameron, *HEI*, 197f and Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 185-91.

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from the south. Bēl-ibni was instrumental on the southern front, battling in or near the usual trouble spots in the southeast: Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and Laḫīru (among others). *ABL* 280 and 1000 mention battle at these places. The wording of *ABL* 1000 r. 7-9 indicates that Ḫilmu and Pillatu were within Elamite territory, because Bēl-ibni's troops had to cross the water into Elam (^{ID}marrat ana ^{KUR}NIM.MA^{KI} *itebrū*) to get there. Bēl-ibni reported in *ABL* 520 on extensive fighting as far south as Bāb-Marrati (deep in southern Babylonia). The letter contains specific references to places of battle (e.g., Aqbānu and 'Alē, neither of which are mentioned in the annals) and prisoners and booty taken.[26] This activity fits well in the context of the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III.

ABL 280 continues with important news of Elam: Huban-nikaš, son of an otherwise unknown Amedirra, had revolted against Huban-haltaš and was backed by Elamites from the river Ḫudḫud[27] to Hidalu (i.e., much of southern Khuzistan). Huban-haltaš and his troops were encamped across the Ḫudḫud from Huban-nikaš. No further explicit information is extant on this crisis in Elam. If *ABL* 280 is to be dated during or soon after the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III, it is evident that Huban-haltaš III defeated this challenge.[28]

ABL 462 may fit into this sequence. It records Bēl-ibni's activities against Nabû-šar-uṣur the cohort commander (*rab kiṣir*). Bēl-ibni noted that all of Elam rebelled against Huban-haltaš III after the previous (*maḫrīti*) Assyrian campaign and that Huban-haltaš fled to the mountains (ll. 14-18). The letter mentions Umḫuluma (r. 3') and Nabû-bēl-šumāti and the messengers of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (r. 6'-7'). These messengers may have remained in Elam after the Šamaš-šum-ukīn revolt was crushed, since this letter cannot date to the rebellion.[29] Mention of Umḫuluma dates this letter before *ABL* 281, which notes his death (see below), and before the capture of Nabû-bēl-šumāti. The remainder of *ABL* 462 (concerning further military activity and Bēl-ibni's requests for reinforcements) indicates heavy fighting in the region of Bāb-Marrati, (compare *ABL* 520, discussed above).

Other letters may be dated to Tammaritu II's second tenure in Elam. The fragmentary *ABL* 1022[30] contains a discussion of the dissolution of some forces before the context becomes too broken to interpret. Rāšians are mentioned in line 6. Tammaritu I's direct concern probably did not reach so far

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[26] For Bāb-Marrati, Aqbānu, and 'Alē, see respectively Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, pp. 59, 25, and 6.

[27] Identified as the modern Dēz River (Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 372).

[28] De Vaan dates *ABL* 280 (and thus the revolt) to 645, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 65. *CT* 54, 456 also mentions a Huban-nikaš (l. 7), but this letter is too fragmentary to determine its content.

[29] Frame, *Babylonia*, 186 n. 274. These messengers' presence may suggest a date closer to the end of the Šamaš-šum-ukīn revolt, perhaps after the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III.

[30] Transliteration and translation from the *SAA* database (collated by Robert Whiting) provided by Simo Parpola.

north into territory logically a concern of his brother Huban-nikaš II (at Madaktu), so this letter is better assigned to Tammaritu II.

At the end of *ABL* 1022, Ashurbanipal admonished Tammaritu and demanded that he strive to return all the favors done for him. "That which a father does not do for a son, I have [done] and given to you" (r. 19-25).[31] A treaty was presumably at issue, but the word *adê* itself is not extant. The context makes it a likely restoration. Finally, the letter is dated Dûzu (IV)/16 with the eponym lost. There is no indication in the sources of how long the first campaign against Huban-haltaš III lasted. The campaign began in Simānu (III), so if it lasted longer than a month *ABL* 1022 was written while the campaign was still in progress or during the following year.

ABL 1311+, authored by Bēl-ibni, concerns military activities involving Tammaritu II. The exact theaters of action are difficult to ascertain, because some toponyms within this letter do not appear elsewhere: Aššuhar/Aššumur; Kiudati/Kiparati; and Habbitliti(?).[32] The Tahhašar in line 13 may be Elamite *Dašer*.[33] The Pillatu, the Šallukku,[34] Hidalu, and Parsumaš are attested, as well as the river Hudhud (modern Dēz). Bēl-ibni's activities – or at least concerns – extended far into Khuzistan and beyond towards Fars.

Headlining Bēl-ibni's "news of Elam" section, Umhuluma sent his *nāgiru* to various cities and peoples, by whom that *nāgiru* was murdered (ll. 6-10). The remainder of *ABL* 1311+ concerns troop movements of Tammaritu, famine, and supplies for Bēl-ibni's(?) troops. Persian activity in the south (raiding the cities of Šallukku(?) and in the context of Hidalu; ll. 23f) may be significant with respect to Tammaritu's position. Tammaritu's allies were gathered along the river Hudhud (ll. 27f), but the wider context is obscure. References to the hunger of Bēl-ibni's troops (r. 6-7, 20?) find parallels in other letters (e.g., *ABL* 792 and 794). Most of the reverse is too fragmentary for comprehension, but the letter ends with Bēl-ibni's declarations of loyalty and devotion to Ashurbanipal.

Other letters provide further indications of the situation in Elam at this time. And many of these concern, directly or otherwise, the hunt for the Chaldean rebel Nabû-bēl-šumāti. Two of these letters provide an attractive match. *ABL* 792 records that Ummanšibar secretly sent Bēl-upahhir, son of Marduk-zēr-ibni,[35] to Bēl-ibni with a message for Ashurbanipal. Bēl-ibni received this message on the sixth of Šabattu (XI) with the request to send it directly to the palace. The Elamites wondered what offense they have committed with regard to "all this" (*agâ gabbi*) which Ashurbanipal sent against

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[31] Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* II, xxi (partially restored).

[32] Where two different spellings are given, they represent the readings of Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, and de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 311-17, respectively.

[33] Dašer was perhaps halfway between Susa and Persepolis. See *ElW*, 265f; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 200-202; and Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 54-55.

[34] An Elamite region according to Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 285.

[35] Harper placed a question mark after the MU sign of his reading Marduk-šum-ibni. Collation revealed that NUMUN is more likely than MU, thus reading Marduk-zēr-ibni (as de Vaan, *Sprache des Bēl-ibni*, 286).

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them (*mīnu hīṭu ša nihṭakka muhhi agâ gabbi ana pānini tūšela*; ll. 10-12). The message indicated that Elam would deliver Nabû-bēl-šumāti to Assyria. The desire to hand over Nabû-bēl-šumāti appears as a startling bit of candor after what must have been viewed as an audacious bit of diplomatic naiveté, i.e., asking Ashurbanipal why he acted thus against Elam. It seems unlikely that the Elamites were unaware of Ashurbanipal's motivation.

Ashurbanipal did not appreciate the Elamites' attitude, as revealed by his direct response to *ABL* 792. The unpublished BM 132980[36] is addressed to the elders of Elam,[37] and it is dated in the same month (Šabattu, XI) as the message mentioned in *ABL* 792. BM 132980 includes the eponym date of Nabû-nādin-ahi (647[38]). Its context fits perfectly with *ABL* 792. This letter was an immediate response to what Ashurbanipal must have viewed as the breaking point of Elamite intransigence. Ashurbanipal asserted that Assyria did not lay waste to Elam after the Te'umman campaign, referring to the friendly relations of that time, and he disparaged Elam as a country having nothing of value or interest to him. He stated his objective more than once: that the Elamites deliver to him Nabû-bēl-šumāti and his accomplices (named in l. 8 as Nabû-qātē-ṣabat and Kiribtu).[39] Ashurbanipal warned the Elamites of dire consequences if they did not do so.

This letter did not have the desired effect, as Nabû-bēl-šumāti still eluded the Assyrians. Only later did Huban-haltaš III successfully restrain Nabû-bēl-šumāti, and Huban-haltaš delivered Nabû-bēl-šumāti's corpse to Assyria (see below). The elders of BM 132980 were either unwilling or unable to seize the Chaldean.[40] If this letter is accurately dated after the first campaign against Huban-haltaš, the next year Ashurbanipal carried out his threat with another campaign surpassing all previous in its scope and savagery.

Huban-haltaš maintained his power base after the chaos engendered by the first campaign, and, sometime before the outset of the second Assyrian campaign against him, he returned to Madaktu.[41] Despite his apparent success in dealing with challenges from within Elam itself, Huban-haltaš III could not withstand another Assyrian advance. He fled Madaktu once more, this time

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[36] Simo Parpola provided me with his transliteration and translation of this letter, and A. R. Millard also provided me with his and K. Deller's work on this text.

[37] This address to the elders of Elam is unique among extant letters. It includes reference to friendship after the Te'umman campaign, demands for Nabû-bēl-šumāti's extradition, and threats of further action if Nabû-bēl-šumāti and his fellow rebels are not delivered. That Ashurbanipal directed this letter not to a king but to the elders may reflect the chaotic state of affairs in Elam at this time. These elders' role in the government of Elam is unknown. Ashurbanipal believed that they were in a position to deliver Nabû-bēl-šumāti to him. Ummanšibar apparently acted as the elders' spokesman in *ABL* 792.

[38] Nabû-nādin-ahi's eponymy is assigned herein to 647 (see Appendix C).

[39] For Nabû-qātē-ṣabat, around whose neck Nabû-bēl-šumāti's head was hung, see Frame, *Babylonia*, 208 n. 80.

[40] Perhaps Ummanšibar's flight as recorded by *ABL* 281:10-17 stemmed from this episode and his fear of Ashurbanipal's wrath for failing to deliver Nabû-bēl-šumāti.

[41] The second campaign is relayed in great detail in Editions F (iv 17 - vi 21) and A (v 63 - vii 8); *BIWA*, 49-59.

to Dūr-Untaš near the Ḫudḫud (Dēz) River.[42] There he took his stand along the opposite bank.

The annals skirt any details of the actual battle at the Dēz, although they do highlight the successful crossing,[43] focusing instead on the cities conquered and booty taken. Huban-haltaš fled yet again into the mountains. The Dēz served as a marker between two extensive groups of cities conquered. The first group lists places located in northern Khuzistan and the environs of Susa. After Ashurbanipal's armies crossed the river, those places listed include many located in southern Khuzistan (e.g., Huhnur, Hidalu, and Bašime[44]). This territory lay in Bēl-ibni's sphere of concern, and it would not be surprising to learn that he led the Assyrian forces in southern Khuzistan. There is no direct indication that that was the case, however.

Editions F (iv 67 - v 71) and A (v 126 - vi 106) then relate the celebrated sack of Susa.[45] This account is wholly unlike the annals typical recitation of conquered territories ("GN, together with its district, I conquered"). The sack is related in great detail: treasuries opened and looted, their contents specifically enumerated; chariots, wagons, and animals taken away; the ziggurat destroyed; the gods and their priests, the statues of previous kings, and the temple ornaments and statues carried off; the secret groves violated and burned; the graves of previous kings exposed to the sun and the bones taken to Assyria; salt and thorns strewn upon the fields; the members of current and previous royal families, the myriad officials and officers, and the entire army deported to Assyria; and fields made silent and turned into the abode of wild animals. The annals give the impression of complete annihilation, but Susa was hardly erased from the earth. In fact, it ultimately survived Nineveh.

What instigated this onslaught? Numerous factors were involved, not the least Elam's continued support of Babylonia in addition to (and part of) its direct conflict with Assyria. An offshoot of this, the support provided Nabû-bēl-šumāti and Elamite refusal or inability to extradite him, only further incensed Ashurbanipal. Indeed, as noted above, letters from this period reveal the incredible emphasis on the capture of the elusive Nabû-bēl-šumāti. This frustration may have played the greatest role in the immediately contemporary sources, but Elam and Assyria's long conflict underlay all this. The return of the deity Nanaya's statue to Uruk, after 1635 years in Elam, marked the campaign's end. Edition A dates Nanaya's return to the first of Kislimu (IX).[46] This sets a chronological boundary for the end of the second campaign, although a year is not given.

[42] *BIWA*, 49 A v 69-73. Akkadian *Dūr-undasi* is the Elamite *Āl-Untaš-Napiriša*, which is the modern Choga-Zanbil (about forty kilometers southeast of Susa); see Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 61.

[43] *BIWA*, 49-50 A v 77-103.

[44] See Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, pp. 101f, 96, and 36, respectively, for references.

[45] *BIWA*, 52-56. Susa is described as the "great sanctuary, dwelling of their gods" (*māḫāzu rabû mūšab ilānišunu*; A v 127-128). This passage highlights Susa's importance as a religious and cultural center.

[46] *BIWA*, 57-58 A vi 107-124.

After the account of the second campaign, Edition A reveals another ruler in Elam: Pa'e, described like Huban-habua as in opposition to Huban-haltaš (*miḫret Ummanaldaš*; see above). K 6382:5 names Pa'e as "king of Elam" in a broken context, and part of his name appears in a broken text (K 3093) relating to the campaigns against Huban-haltaš III.[47] Nothing else is known of Pa'e except that he "ruled Elam" but soon fled from there and seized Ashurbanipal's feet.[48] The Pa'e account occurs in Edition A (vii 51-57) after Ashurbanipal's receipt and subsequent abuse of Nabû-bēl-šumāti's corpse (vii 16-50) and before an enumeration of those cities from which refugees fled into the mountains and, subsequently, to Ashurbanipal, who added them to his troop contingents (vii 58-81). As noted previously, the annals do not consistently relate events in strict chronological order. It is therefore difficult to place Pa'e's rule in chronological sequence with the sack of Susa (v 126 - vi 106); Huban-haltaš III's return to a devastated Madaktu in mourning (vii 9-15); and the final capture of Nabû-bēl-šumāti, his suicide, and the abuse of his corpse (vii 16-50).

If this section of the annals proceeds roughly chronologically, Pa'e reigned late in the year of the second campaign and perhaps into the subsequent year. It is uncertain whether Pa'e ruled before or after *ABL* 879, in which Huban-haltaš III wrote to Ashurbanipal that he had sent Nabû-bēl-šumāti to Nineveh (dated Dûzu (IV), 26th day, eponym of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu; see below). The only stated reason for Pa'e's flight to Nineveh was that he remembered (*ḫasāsu*) the splendor of Aššur and Ištar's weapons poured out over Elam. Internal trouble within Elam persisted after the sack of Susa, and this should not be overlooked as a possible factor in Pa'e's flight.

Even after the second campaign against Huban-haltaš, the Nabû-bēl-šumāti affair had yet to be resolved. Ashurbanipal sent a messenger to Huban-haltaš III, demanding his extradition. This time Nabû-bēl-šumāti apparently had no recourse, and he and his personal attendant slew each other. Huban-haltaš, in fear, delivered the corpse to Ashurbanipal, who abused the corpse in his wrath. Nabû-bēl-šumāti's head was hung around the neck of Nabû-qātē-ṣabat, identified as an official of Šamaš-šum-ukīn.[49]

[47] K 6382 is published in Bauer, *Asb.*, 62; *BIWA* joins this text to K 4524 (see p. 333f). K 3093 is published in Livingstone, *SAA* III, No. 22; note l. 28': [ᵐb]a⸢?⸣-a-e.

[48] *BIWA*, 60 A vii 51-57. A Pa'e appears in *ABL* 1115, called therein the *qīpu* of ᴷᵁᴿAramu (ll. 8-9). Zadok describes this geographic term as "a general designation for the Aramean tribes" (*Rép. géogr.* 8, 27). It is not obvious that this Pa'e is the one named in the annals. If it is the same individual, it is tempting to speculate that the Arameans of *ABL* 1115 were under direct Elamite rule, with Pa'e as a high-ranking official placed over them. The letter relates Pa'e's messenger going to Nippur with a message that "the kings" (of Assyrian and Elam?) are at peace. Note also the ᵐpa-'-⸢e⸣⸢?⸣ of *CT* 53, 70:8 (broken context).

[49] *BIWA*, 59-60 A vii 16-50. In BM 132980, l. 8 Nabû-qātē-ṣabat was named with Nabû-bēl-šumāti, and Kiribtu as those individuals whom Ashurbanipal demanded that the elders of Elam extradite (see above).

Three letters refer specifically to the hunt for Nabû-bēl-šumāti. Bēl-ibni reported in *ABL* 281[50] that Huban-haltaš, whom he labeled the previous (*maḫrû*) king (1. 5) had fled but then returned to take the throne. But, because he was in fear (of what is not specified), he abandoned Madaktu with his family and fled southward across the Ūlāya to Talaḫ.[51] Bēl-ibni continued that Ummanšibar (the *nāgiru*? see above, p. 69 n. 3), Undadu the *zilliri*-official, and their cohorts (*bēl ṭabtū*) were in flight to Šuhari-sungur with plans to dwell in Ḫuḫan (Huhnur?[52]) or Hidalu.

Reference to Huban-haltaš III as the previous king may reflect the situation after the first Assyrian campaign against him, when he was forced to reckon with challengers such as Huban-habua and perhaps Huban-nikaš, son of Amedirra. To further complicate the political-military situation, the people of Taḫḫašar (Elamite *Dašer*?) and Šallukku were in revolt over the slaying of Umḫuluma (ll. 21-23).

ABL 281 also provides intelligence regarding Nabû-bēl-šumāti (ll. 23-31). Huban-haltaš, after he returned to Madaktu and presumably before he fled south (noted earlier in the letter, ll. 9-10), had castigated his cohorts (*bēl ṭabtī*) for not delivering Nabû-bēl-šumāti to Assyria, as that action would have forestalled the current attack. Bēl-ibni provides this information as a preface (indicating Huban-haltaš's willingness to deal) to the suggestion that Ashurbanipal send secretly to the Elamite king for Nabû-bēl-šumāti, this time expecting success by catching Nabû-bēl-šumāti "with bow asleep" (ll. 31 - r. 10). With the death of Umḫuluma, who was apparently one of Nabû-bēl-šumāti's foremost patrons, Nabû-bēl-šumāti's situation had become precarious. Those people (Elamite *šarnuppu*) from whom Umḫuluma had directed rations to Nabû-bēl-šumāti have seized Nabû-bēl-šumāti and turned him over to Huban-haltaš, who did not release him.[53] Bēl-ibni was confident that Nabû-bēl-šumāti would not escape.

This suggestion met with Ashurbanipal's favor. Bēl-ibni, acting as the middle man, sent further correspondence. In *ABL* 1286, Ashurbanipal threatened Huban-haltaš with more trouble if Nabû-bēl-šumāti was not extradited.[54] Some breaks mar the text of the message, especially the end of the obverse, but it appears to have been sent under the royal seal (l. 21). Secrecy was emphasized (r. 3-4), as Bēl-ibni recommended in *ABL* 281. Bēl-ibni recorded a response, presumably from Huban-haltaš, who reported that Nabû-bēl-

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[50] See M. Stolper, "*šarnuppu*," *ZA* 68 (1978), 261-69.

[51] Talaḫ is not attested beyond this letter (r. 16).

[52] See Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* 8, 164 and Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 101f.

[53] See Stolper, "*šarnuppu*," 261-63 for the word *šarnuppu* and discussion of the passage.

[54] The threat "your future will be worse than your past" (ll. 9-10) is quite similar to that given at the end of BM 132980. That the threat in *ABL* 1286 was directed to Huban-haltaš rather than the elders of Elam (as threatened in BM 132980) suggests two different episodes in the hunt for Nabû-bēl-šumāti. However, in light of the instability in Elam, Ashurbanipal may have felt it useful to threaten both parties, if he was unsure who might be able to secure Nabû-bēl-šumāti's capture.

šumāti had been brought down from the mountains under guard and was travelling with him. He assured Ashurbanipal that Nabû-bēl-šumāti would not escape (r. 5-8).

ABL 879 provides the coda to this entire affair. It is dated Dûzu (IV), 26th day, eponym of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu. Huban-haltaš addressed Ashurbanipal as "my brother" in the greeting. He blamed this late stage of the Nabû-bēl-šumāti affair on the Martenians.[55] They had been against Ashurbanipal "from the beginning" (*issu rēši*) and had taken Nabû-bēl-šumāti away to the other shore (*ana aḫullā*). Huban-haltaš indicated that he had retrieved Nabû-bēl-šumāti and had sent him to Ashurbanipal. Nabû-bēl-šumāti killed himself in Huban-haltaš III's custody (or in transit to Assyria), because Ashurbanipal made it clear that he received Nabû-bēl-šumāti's corpse.[56]

This progression is curious in light of *ABL* 1286, as that letter indicates that Nabû-bēl-šumāti was brought down from the mountains and was under close guard. Perhaps Huban-haltaš did not have Nabû-bēl-šumāti under as close a guard as indicated in *ABL* 1286 and that during some part of his "moving about" (*segû*; r. 7) Nabû-bēl-šumāti managed to escape. If so, Huban-haltaš rectified that situation. If the return of Nanaya to Uruk (IX/1) marked the end of the second campaign against Huban-haltaš III, *ABL* 879 (IV/26) indicates that Nabû-bēl-šumāti's corpse was delivered to Assyria several months later.[57]

Huban-haltaš then turned to the matter of the Martenians (*ABL* 879:8ff). The Martenians were active in Laḫīru, along the Babylonian-Elamite border. Huban-haltaš suggested that each monarch deal with the situation on his respective side of the border. Huban-haltaš showed great awareness of Assyrian territory, perhaps fearful of the consequences if he crossed the boundary. In conjunction with the salutation "my brother," this concern for the boundary suggests some sort of *adê*-relationship. If there was such a formal agreement, there is no doubt as to the dominant partner.

Huban-haltaš III makes a final appearance in the annals after an account of campaigns to the west and against the Arabs.[58] Huban-haltaš III's subjects had again revolted, and he took the familiar flight into the mountains. Ashurbanipal "captured him like a falcon" (*kīma surdî abâršuma*) and brought him to Nineveh. There, with Pa'e and Tammaritu II and the Arabian king Uaite', he was forced to pull Ashurbanipal's carriage. Tammaritu (II), Pa'e, and Huban-haltaš (III) are described as having ruled "one after the other"

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[55] These people appear elsewhere only in *ABL* 1009 r. 12 in a fragmentary context.

[56] *BIWA*, 59-60 A vii 39-40. Note the fragmentary *ABL* 1284 r. 9 with the instruction to pack a corpse in salt (see *CAD* Š/I, 205) and with Nabû-bēl-šumāti named more than once in the letter.

[57] This is based upon dating the second campaign against Huban-haltaš III in 646 and assigning the eponym of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu (and thus *ABL* 839) to 645. See Appendix C and Frame, *Babylonia*, 28-29 and 293-95 for discussion and references.

[58] Described as the ninth campaign in Edition A vii 82 - x 5 (*BIWA*, 61-69). Edition A is dated to I/1/eponymy of Šamaš-da"inanni, dated to 643 or before (see Frame, *Babylonia*, 29). Thus, the above described events took place in or before 644.

(*ša arka aḫāmeš*) – in that order.[59] This contradicts the order as related in Edition A, where Pa'e does not appear until after Huban-haltaš III had regained the throne subsequent to Tammaritu II's second overthrow.

BM 123793 commemorates the capture of Huban-haltaš III from the city Murūbisi.[60] The relief portrays Huban-haltaš III being transported in a chariot, escorted by other Elamites with upraised hands in a gesture of surrender. A relief inscription describes two kings of Elam, whose names are not given, bringing their royal meal before Ashurbanipal, which they were compelled to prepare personally.[61]

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[59] *BIWA*, 70-71 A x 6-30, especially lines 17-18. An inscription from the Nabû temple at Nineveh also describes this scene but substitutes Huban-nikaš (II) for Uaite'. See W. Hallo, "An Assurbanipal Text Recovered," *The Israel Museum Journal* 6 (1987), 33-37, lines 6-7, where the order is Huban-nikaš, Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Huban-haltaš. Edition A iv 1-2 relates Huban-nikaš II's death at the hands of Tammaritu (*BIWA*, 41).

[60] Barnett, *North Palace of Ashurbanipal*, 46 and Pl. XXXIV and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 205. For Murūbisi, compare Marubištu – that place to which Nibê, nephew of Daltâ (the king of Ellipi), and his Elamite supporters fled in 708 (see above, p. 21).

[61] Barnett, *North Palace of Ashurbanipal*, 57 and Pl. LXIV; Gerardi, "Epigraphs," 25; and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 204.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LATE AND UNCERTAIN RULERS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The quantity and quality of extant Mesopotamian sources for Neo-Elamite history decrease dramatically in the last thirty years of the Assyrian Empire. By necessity, the indigenous source material becomes prominent for the Neo-Elamite III period after the early 640s. Survey of these sources is meant only as an introduction to the historical problems and issues of the final phase of Neo-Elamite history. Because of the difficulties involved in interpretation of these texts, the following are only preliminary remarks. In-depth philological analysis of these inscriptions falls beyond the scope of this treatment.

Šutur-Nahhunte (EKI 71)

Some commentators reject the assignment of *EKI* 71 to Šutruk-Nahhunte II, distinguishing between the forms of the name *Šutur-* and *Šutruk- Nahhunte*, and attribute it to a king Šutur-Nahhunte of the late seventh to early sixth centuries.[1] The inscription itself, found at Susa, is a dedication to the goddess Pinigir. Šutur-Nahhunte identified himself as the "son of Huban-immena," the identical patronymic used by Šutruk-Nahhunte II in *EKI* 72-73.[2] Differentiating the Šutur-Nahhunte of *EKI* 71 from the Šutruk-Nahhunte of *EKI* 72-73 necessitates finding a place in the chronology for the Šutur-Nahhunte and Huban-immena of *EKI* 71. Vallat does this by interpreting Akkadian *Umman-menanu* (herein rendered Huban-menanu, r. 692-689) as Elamite *Huban-*

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[1] For example, M. Lambert, "Shutruk-Nahhunte et Shutur-Nahhunte," *Syria* 44 (1967), 47-51 and F. Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahhunte, Šutur-Nahhunte et l'imbroglio néo-élamite," *N.A.B.U.* 1995/2 (Juin), No. 44. and "Nouvelle analyse," 393 and *passim*.

Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Huban-immena, also appears on an inscription fragment published by P. Amiet, "Éléments émaillés du décor architectural néo-élamite," *Syria* 44, 1967, 36-37. This fragment is discussed in further detail in Appendix B.

[2] For variants of Huban-immena, see *ElOn*, 46 and *ElW* 678-81. The only other Neo-Elamite occurrence of this form beyond the father of Šutur-Nahhunte, to my knowledge, is the Huban-ummena of *MDP* 9, 83 r. 1.

immena. Thus, he views the Šutur-Nahhunte of *EKI* 71 as Huban-menanu's son, assigning Šutur-Nahhunte's reign after the sack of Susa (646).[3]

EKI 71 contains traditional Middle Elamite titulary ("I am the king of Anshan and Susa, expander of the realm") with final locutive -*k*, the syllabic spelling of *šak* (rather than the logogram DUMU), and the vertical wedge as masculine determinative (rather than BE or GAM). These stylistic elements link *EKI* 71 to *EKI* 72-73, but they do not provide definitive proof for chronology – especially when utilized in royal titulary, in which the formula is often conservative. Maintaining that Elamite *Šutur-* and *Šutruk-* are different forms of the same name, there is no reason to differentiate the Šutur-Nahhunte of *EKI* 71 from Šutruk-Nahhunte of *EKI* 72-73. The approach followed herein assigns *EKI* 71 with *EKI* 72-73 to Šutruk-Nahhunte II, who reigned from 717-699. See Appendix B for further discussion.

GAM

Hanni (EKI 75-76)

The enigmatic rock reliefs and inscriptions of Kūl-e Farah and Šikaft-e Salmān (hereafter -KF- and -ŠS-, respectively) near the modern town of Izeh (Mālamir) in eastern Khuzistan are significant, but poorly understood, pieces of the Neo-Elamite puzzle.[4] The four reliefs in the gorge of ŠS are arranged in two pairs of two, each relief facing the back of a ravine where a temple or fire altar (now destroyed) once stood.[5] The relief figures are portrayed in procession and in an attitude of prayer and admiration, oriented toward the back of the ravine.

The six reliefs of KF are spread out on the opposite side of the valley from ŠS. KF I, II, and V contain sacrifice scenes, KF III and IV portray processions, and KF VI depicts several figures in prayer. A seasonal stream arising from a spring at the east end of the gorge runs by all the reliefs (except KF I, which is on the north side of the gorge), which suggests the importance of water in whatever rites were held there. The subject matter and the placement of the reliefs attest to the religious significance of this region. The presence of reliefs spanning two millennia further underscores the long-standing importance of this valley. Izeh lies along strategic north-south and east-west communication routes.[6]

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[3] "Nouvelle analyse," 390-91.

[4] For the archaeological context of these reliefs and related issues, see the contributions of E. de Waele (cited in the bibliography); L. Vanden Berghe, "Les reliefs élamites de Malamir," *IA* 3 (1963), 22-39; E. Carter, *Elam*, 170-72 and 187; U. Seidl, *Die elamischen Felsreliefs von Kurangun und Naqs-e Rustam* (Berlin, 1986); and P. Calmeyer, "Mālamir. C. Archäologisch," *RlA* 7, 281-87.

[5] See E. de Waele, "Travaux archéologiques à Shekaf-e Salma et Kul-e Farah près d'Izeh (Malamir)," *IA* 16 (1981), Figures 4 and 6 for drawings.

[6] Carter, *Elam*, 172.

KF I and ŠS III were inscribed, accompanied by numerous captions, by Hanni, son of Tahhi, who titled himself *kutur* ("prince" or "chief").[7] KF I (*EKI* 75) was dedicated primarily to Tirutir[8] though other gods such as Šimut[9] and Huban also appear. The term *kiten* (and various suffixed forms) occurs no less than ten times in the first seven lines of the twenty-four line inscription KF I – all in the context of Hanni's invocation of Elamite gods or his dedications at KF. The term *kiten* refers to some sort of divine protection.[10]

Hanni's concerns were not only religious. He reported a revolt in an otherwise-unknown region (Šilhite) and the capture of twenty individuals who bore the same title (*kutur*) as Hanni (ll. 11-14). These were probably local activities, but the lack of data precludes confident analysis of the political situation. Hanni seized various quantities of *šahšik.me*, apparently booty of some sort, for further construction and dedications in Ayapir.[11] The inscription ends with further invocations and a curse formula.

The main inscription at ŠS (ŠS III) differs from KF I. It begins with relation of Hanni's dedication at Tarriša (presumably ŠS itself). This inscription and the sculptures are dedicated to Mašti, who is named "Lady (*zana*) of Tarriša." An invocation to Mašti follows, before a description of a certain Šutruru, Hanni's *ragipal*,[12] and his role in the preparation of sacrificial rites in Mašti's honor. These rites are related in the main body of the inscription, which appears to describe the partition of specific parts of the sacrifice among the participants.[13]

Numerous short captions accompanying the reliefs identify those portrayed. One of these (on the robe of a standing male figure, ŠS IV [*EKI* 76 F]) links the KF and ŠS inscriptions. It invokes not only Mašti but also Tepti and Napir, with their epithets as given in KF I (l. 6 and 17/18), and the gods of Ayapir (l. 18).[14] The connection between the two sets of inscriptions is clear, even if that of the reliefs is not. De Waele dates the ŠS reliefs to the twelfth century but those of the KF series from the ninth to sixth centuries.[15]

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[7] For *kutur*, see *ElOn*, 24-25; *ElW*, 550; and Stolper, *RlA* 7, 277. See de Waele, "Travaux archéologiques," 61 for a concordance of the inscriptions and publications.

[8] Tirutir is unattested elsewhere, so it may be a regional deity. Vallat, "Les briques élamites de Deylan," in *Kunst, Kultur, und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, ed. H. Koch and D. N. MacKenzie (Berlin, 1983), 15 and Stolper, *RlA* 7, 277. Compare *ElW*, 323 *ti-ib-ba*.

[9] Steve's collation revealed *am* for *mut* (*Syllabaire*, No. 81), but he attributes this to scribal error and reads Šimut.

[10] Compare Akkadian *kidinnu*; see F. Grillot, "La postposition genitive -*na* en Élamite," *DAFI* 3 (1973), 139 n. 39 and *ElW*, 487.

[11] The meaning of *šahšik.me* is uncertain; see *ElW*, 1121 "Geweihtier(e)?" and note *MDP* 9, 105 r. 1f and 134:8 (cited Stolper, *RlA* 7, 277). For Ayapir (presumably in modern Izeh/Mālamir), see Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 26-27.

[12] *ElW*, 1024 translates "Minister, Hofmarschall"; see above, p. 18.

[13] See Stolper, *RlA*, 278.

[14] Ibid.

[15] "Travaux archéologiques," 50 n. 4 and 52 n. 7.

If the ŠŠ reliefs are older than those at KF, the ŠŠ inscriptions must be secondary additions, contemporary with those of KF I, and meant to associate the older monuments with the newer ones. The content of ŠŠ III seems to describe better the KF relief sequence.[16]

Certain aspects of the inscriptions are germane to wider historical considerations. Hanni named himself *kutur* of Ayapir, an assertation that may refer to his control of the wider region of Mālamīr. KF I line 10 refers to king Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada: *bame* EŠŠANA ˅*Šutur*-ᵈUTU *šak Indada.ri.na huttanka*[17] or (with an emendation) *libame... huttanka*.[18] Both readings are translated in a similar vein by the respective commentators, since Hanni's subordination to this Šutur-Nahhunte seems clear enough. In König's copy, the last sign of the preceding word (*huttak*) runs into the engraved relief figure. It is unclear whether there is sufficient room for a *li*, but the reading *libame* does provide a parallel – unlike *bame*, for which there are no other attestations.

Paleographic comparisons have been used in attempts to date Hanni's inscriptions, but these are tentative at best. The syllabary falls roughly within the range of the early to mid-seventh century, but sign forms on monumental texts are generally more archaic. Grammatical considerations point to a later date. Final -*h* rather than -*k* is used in most verbal constructions, including Hanni's titulary, and, more significantly, the postposition -*na* (increasingly frequent in the later Neo-Elamite period) also appears. *EKI* 76 H and I (Hanni's daughters[19]) contain a possessive construction paralleled in Achaemenid Elamite and in the Susa Acropolis texts that has been analyzed as a calque on an Iranian construction.[20]

The personal name *Indada* does not occur elsewhere,[21] but the name *Šutur-Nahhunte* is relatively common in Neo-Elamite texts. This is certainly not Šutruk-Nahhunte II, who identified his father as Huban-immena, but there are other possibilities (including, of course, an otherwise unattested Šutur-Nahhunte):

    1) the king of Hidalu (Akkadian *Ištarnandi*, Elamite *Šutur-/Šutruk-Nahhunte*) whom Assurbanipal beheaded after the Teˀumman campaign (653)

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[16] Stolper, *RlA* 7, 278.

[17] König, *EKI* 75:10 and *ElW*, 134 *ba-me*: "da ich Dienstbarkeit(?) gegenüber König Šutir-Nahhunte, dem Sohne des Indada, betätige."

[18] Stolper, *RlA* 7, 277: "(Since) I served (Šutur-Nahhunte)." Note *li-ba-me*, with the same verb, of DB §7:15 (translated "service," *PFT*, 720): *libame unina huttaš*.

[19] For *pak*, compare *EKI*, p. 168; *ElW*, 105; and F. Grillot-Susini, "Une nouvelle approche de la morphologie élamite: racines, bases et familles de mots," *JA* 282 (1994), 2 ("Tochter" and "fille") with *IRS*, p. 172f ("soeur").

[20] Stolper, *RlA*, 279, citing E. Reiner, "Calques sur le Vieux-Perse en Élamite aché-ménide," *BSLP* 55 (1960), 222-27. F. Vallat assigns these inscriptions to the early sixth century, "Nouvelle analyse," 393.

[21] See Zadok, "Elamite Hypocoristica," 101.

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    2) Šutur-Nahhunte, father of Huban-kitin
       (cylinder seal inscription of uncertain date)

It is possible that these two citations refer to the same individual, but this is uncertain (see Appendix B).

Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (EKI 86-87)[22]

The fragmentary stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak gives evidence of another Elamite king who is not found in Mesopotamian sources, at least not named as such. Ashurbanipal's annals refer twice to an Attametu/i, once as the *rab qašti* of Huban-nikaš II[23] and again (perhaps the same individual?) as the father of Huban-haltaš III.[24] Akkadian *Attametu* is probably an abbreviated form of Elamite *Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak*.[25] This has spurred some commentators to identify Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak with the Attametu in the Assyrian annals, assigning him the rule of Susa in the late 650s.[26] But Ashurbanipal's annals identify Attametu as subservient to Huban-nikaš II and note that he was beheaded after the battle of Mangisi.[27]

The only way to preserve the identification of this Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak with the Attametu of Assyrian sources is to distinguish Attametu the father of Huban-haltaš III from Attametu the *rab qašti* of Huban-nikaš II. To identify the former Attametu with the Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak of *EKI* 86-87, he must have ruled (in Susa?) sometime in or after 652. But at this time Assyrian sources for Neo-Elamite history are abundant, and there is no record of an Attametu who ruled as king in the late 650s. This in itself does not preclude the identification, of course, but it makes it unlikely. Another possible candidate for the Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak of *EKI* 86-87 is an Elamite who rebelled against Darius I in 520, a third Elamite uprising (put down by Gobryas). The Old Persian *Aθamaita* corresponds to Elamite *Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak*,[28] but an identification with the Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak of *EKI* 86-87 is hypothetical.

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[22] The fragments *EKI* 88-89 are also attributed to Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's stele (*EKI*, p. 23 and Steve, *Syllabaire*, 22). For a hypothetical reconstruction of the stele, M. Pézard, "Reconstitution d'une stèle de Adda-hamiti-In-sušnak," *Babyloniaca* 8 (1924), 1-26. The stele and inscriptions are discussed, respectively, by O. Muscarella and M. Stolper in *Royal City*, 198-99. Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 393 dates Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak to the late seventh or early sixth centuries.

[23] *BIWA*, 109 B vii 17.

[24] Ibid., 155 C ix 85 and 156 l. 12 (K 2656+). See also PNA 1/I, 234.

[25] *ElOn*, 7 and Stolper, *Royal City*, 199.

[26] Cameron, *HEI*, 190-91 and Hinz, *Lost World*, 157.

[27] *BIWA*, 110 B vii 30-35.

[28] DB §71, OP only; see R. Schmitt, *Bisitun: Old Persian Text* (London, 1991), 75.

Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak was the son of an otherwise-unknown Hutran-tepti.[29] He used the traditional Elamite titulary *sunkik* ʰ*Anzan* ʰ*Šušunka likume rišakka...*, but most of the first two lines' relevant portions are broken away:

1) [*ú at-ta-ha-mi-ti*]-ʳᵈˡMÙŠ.LAM *šá-ak* ᵈ*hu-ut-ra-an-te-ip*-[*ti-i*]*k-ka₄ su-un-k*[*i-ik* ʰ*an-za-an* ʰ*šu-šu-un-ka₄ li*]-

2) -[*ku-me ri-šá-ak-ka₄ ka₄-a*]*t-ri ha-tamₓ-ti-ik-ki hal-me-ni-e-ik-k*[*i ha*]*-tamₓ-ti-ik-ki...*[30]

¹⁾[I am Atta-hamiti]-Inšušinak, son of Hutran-tepti, king [of Anshan and Susa, ²⁾expander of the realm, mas]ter(?) of Elam, sovereign(?) of Elam...[31]

The use of final *-k*, phonetic spellings (rather than logograms) of *sunki* and *šak,* and the extant titulary give credence to König's restorations based on Middle Elamite parallels.[32] Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak had grand aspirations, at least, in using this traditional titulary, but whether his political reach reflected his titulary is another matter. Elamite kings may have ruled Anshan through the early seventh century, but there is no indication that they did so beyond that time (see p. 35). Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's titulary is presumably ceremonial.

Though final *-k* (formulaic from Middle Elamite) occurs in Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's titulary, final *-h* (a Neo-Elamite grammatical development) occurs in the main text of *EKI* 86. *EKI* 87 combines the two elements. Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak gave his name and patronymic twice: once with final *-k* but a second time with final *-h* (and the title "king").

u Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak šak Hutran-teptiha (lines 1-5)

I am Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, son of Hutran-tepti

sukir Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak šak Hutran-teptikka (left edge)

I am king Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, son of Hutran-tepti[33]

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[29] An Elamite king of this name was a predecessor of the rulers of Šimaški, mentioned in the inscriptions of Šilhak-Inšušinak I: *EKI* 39 (*IRS* 38) and 48; see Stolper, *Elam,* 72 n. 132.

[30] *EKI* 86:1-2. Restorations follow König. The name's final element "Inšušinak" is spelled phonetically (ᵈ*in-su-iš-na-ak*) in EKI 87:2-3.

[31] For translation of *katru* and *halmenik*, see Grillot, "Trinôme de la royauté en Élam," 185-91. *EIW* translates the former as "Thronender" (p. 411) and the latter as "Landes-Machthaber" (p. 604).

[32] For example, compare the titulary of Huban-numena (14th century): *likume rišakka merrik Hatamtik katri Hatamtik halmenik Hatamtik sunkik* ʰ*Anzan* ʰ*Šušunka* (*EKI* 4 C and *IRS* 21).

[33] These are engraved to the right of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's head. The former is inscribed in short lines, left to right, and the latter (left edge) is oriented 90 degrees in relation to the former, sideways, running top to bottom. For a picture of the stele see P. Amiet, *Elam,* 566 and *Royal City,* 198. The orientation suggests that the inscription on the left edge was added later.

The former citation uses the first person pronoun in conjunction with final *-h*, while the latter omits the pronoun but contains final *-k*. The inscriptions may not have been prepared at the same time or by the same scribe. The spelling *sukir* for "king" occurs three times in the main body of *EKI* 86, whereas *sunki* occurs only in the titulary.[34] These variations, however, do not provide any insight into a possible date for the inscription.

Some toponyms reflect Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's concerns. A *kutur* (compare Hanni's inscriptions above) appears in the context of Bessitme and Šepšilak.[35] The toponyms Šamaršušu, Gisat, and Susa also occur.[36] Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak expressed his devotion to Susa in particular and its *puhur*.[37] These attestations reveal that Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak's concerns reached beyond Susa, where the monument was found, and included southern and eastern Khuzistan, perhaps stretching into Fars.

Ururu (Bronze Plaque of Persepolis)

Only a photograph of Ururu's dedicatory inscription has been published, accompanied by G. Cameron's summary of the inscription.[38] The difficult nature of the text defies a continuous translation.[39] Almost half of the front side is broken away, with one partially broken line at the bottom. The reverse is in reasonably good shape, except for some breaks at the bottom where there is also an imprint of a cylinder seal with inscription. Cameron associates the sign forms of this inscription with those of *EKI* 75-76 (Hanni) and those used

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[34] This particular variation may merely reflect variety, since it is not a unique phenomenon. Šilhak-Inšušinak I used both spellings in one of his inscriptions (*EKI* 45 iv 10 and vii 6).

[35] Bessitme occurs several times in the Fortification texts along the route from Persepolis to Susa, but its exact location is debated; see H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft,* 189-91 (Bezitme) and Vallat, *Rep. géogr.* 11, 40-41. Šepšilak does not occur elsewhere.

[36] Šamaršušu does not occur elsewhere. The location of Gisat is uncertain, but it too is probably along the route between Persepolis and Susa (see below). *EKI* 89:4 mentions Huhpir, which has been identified with Huhnur (compare Assyrian Ḫunnir on the border of Hidalu; *BIWA,* 51 v 115-116), and indicates a region in southeastern Khuzistan; see Vallat, *Rep. géogr.* 11, 102.

[37] The meaning of this term (from *puhu* "child"; *EIW,* 230) in this context is obscure. The phrase *puhur puhurri* occurs in *EKI* 89:12 in broken context (compare *EKI* 74 I 35-36 and II 13-16). *EIW,* 232 translates "Tempelsohn, Tempeleise." Stolper notes that this concern for Susa suggests that Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak did not originate there (*Royal City,* 199).

[38] E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II,* 1953 (*OIP* 69), Plates 27-28 and pp. 64-65. Since the sign forms date the inscription earlier than the Achaemenid period, Cameron (p. 65) explained its presence at Persepolis as a war trophy or the like. There are numerous vocabulary parallels with the Persepolis texts.

[39] *EIW* incorporates the vocabulary found in the text and Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11 the toponyms. Those two sources follow a different numbering system. Line numbers herein correspond to those of *EIW*.

in the economic and administrative tablets from Susa (see below), dating the inscription anywhere between the early seventh to early sixth centuries. Steve assigns it to his Neo-Elamite III A period (c. 653-605), after Hanni and before the Susa tablets.[40]

The obverse is intelligible only with the last twelve to fourteen lines. In line 36, Ururu is named the son of Šadununu(?).[41] Other personal names occur in the following lines, perhaps members of the same family: Adda-ten (son of Huban-ahpi?[42]), Amma-ten,[43] and up to two others whose names are not recoverable. A certain Atta-mit, who is perhaps Ururu's wife,[44] occurs in r. 8/9 and 19/20 in the context of Ururu's(?) and her children.

Numerous toponyms that occur in the text provide little insight, since most do not occur elsewhere. In order of appearance: Hamun (prominent in the beginning, appearing at least three times, ll. 8', 17', 31-32'); Udman (l. 43'); Kummama (ll. 44-45'); Udazammin (ll. 45', 47'(?), 50'); Šumurtan-duri (l. 48'); Tartin (r. 1, 3, 4);[45] and Bahar (r. 6). Gisat (r. 1) is the only toponym that occurs elsewhere. It is frequent in the Persepolis Fortification texts, and H. Koch locates it in the border region between Elam and Persis (i.e., in the environs of southeastern Khuzistan).[46] The only other reference to Gisat occurs in *EKI* 86:2 (Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak) in a fragmentary context. The toponyms occurring in the Bronze Plaque of Persepolis were probably small towns in a localized area, perhaps in the region of Gisat.

Several Elamite deities occur in the text, especially toward the end: Šašum (r. 11, 13?, 24, 28, 30?),[47] dDIL.BAD (r. 35),[48] Beltu(?)(r. 37),[49] Laliya (r. 39),[50]

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[40] *Syllabaire*, 21-22.

[41] *ElW*, 1119. Ururu or his father may be named "king" here. The sign that follows his father's name appears to be EŠŠANA, though some read it as *ri*. From the photograph, I prefer the former. Other occurrences of Ururu's name are not followed by any indication of royalty, so a reading of EŠŠANA here, if accurate, may be better attributed to his father Šadununu(?).

[42] Cameron in *Persepolis II*, 65, followed by *ElW*, 677 (l. 38)

[43] *ElW* reads Amma-ten as wife (*riti*, p. 1042) of Bahuri(?) in l. 39, but the latter name is mostly restored.

[44] So *ElW*, 28. She is not explicitly named as such, however.

[45] The same as Tartin-Ammak(?) in r. 1 (so Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 275 for htar-tin-fam-ma-ik)?

[46] *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, 213-16. *Gisat* is Hallock's *Kesat* (*PFT*, 713). See Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 68 and Stolper, *Elam*, 55.

[47] Called "my god" (*napir.uri*) in r. 11-12. Compare the Šiyašum of Untaš-Napiriša and note variants listed in *ElW*, 1069.

[48] Identified as Narsina by *ElW* (p. 329) and Parti/Mašti by Grillot, "À propos de la notion de subordination dans la syntaxe élamite," *JA* 258 (1970), 232. Here the goddess is given the epithet *zana* URU^MEŠ-*na* "Lady of the City." Compare the deity Manzat, often called NIN-*ali*, "Lady of the City" in the Middle Elamite period (see *ElW*, 853 and 1002).

[49] *ElW*, 188 analyzes this form as an Akkadian loanword, "göttliche Herrin." The context is broken and obscure. This form does not appear elsewhere.

[50] The name of this goddess also occurs in *MDP* 9, 80:8 (Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 388).

Nahhunte (r. 41), Šati (r. 43),[51] and Nanna (r. 44).[52] Most of these citations appear in a lengthy curse and blessing formula. References to wine and other commodities, apparently in context of temple offerings (and personnel?), suggest an administrative accounting of religious dedications.

The seal and its inscription also deserve comment. E. Schmidt describes them thus:

> There are five blank lines beyond the end of the inscription, followed by one more line of text, which may have bearing on the seal design below it. Actually, the seal is inverted and oriented in the same manner as the text on the obverse...The figurative part of the seal is shown four times. It pictures two erect antithetic animals, perhaps lions, which appear to be identical. One foreleg of each animal seems to be raised and the other flexed in front of the chest. The seal includes a rectangular panel – shown three times only – inclosing an inscription of five lines.[53]

The final line of text right above the inscription is indecipherable, since only a few signs are legible. But these few signs provide the name of an official: mdNappa-ahpi the GAL.E.GAL^MEŠ. A similar officer (i.e., Akkadian *rab ekalli*, "palace manager") occurs in two of the Acropolis tablets (*MDP* 9, 9:4 and 93:14) and two Nineveh letters (3:6 and 5:4).[54] The seal inscription reads "King Huban-šuturuk son of Šati-hupiti" (EŠŠANA vdhu-ban-šu-tur-uk DUMU dšá-ti-hu-pi-ti-na). Huban-šuturuk does not appear elsewhere, and there is no information where or when he reigned. Here again is another Elamite king for whom we have no secure chronology or kingdom. The only other attestation of the name Šati-hupiti is in *MDP* 9, 3:3 as an ironsmith (AN.BAR^MEŠ *kazzira*), and it is doubtful that it is the same individual. The identification of an ironsmith as the father of a king would not seem credible even in the chaotic milieu of late seventh century Elam.

Nineveh Letters

This subset of Elamite texts is perhaps the most difficult to interpret. F. H. Weissbach published twenty-five letters and fragments, some since joined, in 1902.[55] Since then, their provenience, translation, and significance have

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[51] Šati is prevalent in the economic and administrative texts from Susa and Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite personal names (see *ElW*, 1141).

[52] The only other reference to the Sumerian moon god in Elamite texts is *EKI* 54:4 (Šilhak-Inšušinak I); *ElW*, 969.

[53] *Persepolis* II, 64.

[54] Vallat, "Kidin-Hutran et l'époque néo-élamite," *Akkadica* 37 (1984), 12 n. 34 and Steve, "La fin de l'Élam: à propos d'une empreinte de sceau-cylindre," *StIr* 15 (1986), 14. For the reading E.GAL, see Steve, *Syllabaire*, p. 152, No. 308.

[55] A. H. Sayce first discussed these tablets, "Amardian or 'Protomedic' Tablets in the British Museum," *Recueil de Travaux* 13 (1890), 126-31. Weissbach published hand copies and an introduction in "Susische Thontäfelchen," *BA* 4 (1902), 168-202. Addi-

been debated and continue to be so. These texts present extraordinary difficulties beyond their poor preservation. The language used in the letters is difficult to understand, and the determination of the their historical context is no less challenging. The majority of these texts are too fragmentary for continuous translation.

The letters' provenience, usually assumed to be Nineveh, has been called into question. F. Vallat and D. Charpin question their provenience in successive articles, suggesting instead that Mālamīr was more appropriate.[56] This proposal is soundly rejected by J. Reade, who confirms their Ninevite origin. Further, Reade asserts that most, if not all, of these tablets were excavated from the Southwest Palace. He notes that, though their find spot is secure, where they were actually written is another issue.[57] Vallat has reopened the debate with a detailed argument for their Mālamīr provenience.[58]

Nin 1, 5, 10, and 13 preserve the author's name, Bahuri son of Mazzini, and these letters are the best preserved of the lot. Nin 1 and 10 are quite similar in content. Hinz suggests that they were drafts (kept as records in Nineveh with Bahuri) of a letter sent to Akkiriri, who appears only in these two letters.[59] Nin 10 (left edge, ll. 18-21) ends with the indication that the inhabitants (with a restored delocutive ending -p) of Nunuhu made an offering(?) with an ewe for the author's *širi*.[60] The context is obscure. *Nunuhu* Hinz identifies as Nineveh, although Vallat rejects this.[61] Hinz reads similarly the form *nu-nu-* in Nin 5:16, but this is more difficult to identify with Nineveh. The last extant sign of l. 16 appears to be *b/pu* (collated; compare Weissbach's *nu-nu-na?-ᵊx*), and there is no horizontal determinative – rather *na* precedes the first *nu*.[62]

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tional publications include C. B. F. Walker, "Elamite Inscriptions in the British Museum," *Iran* 18 (1980), 80, Fig. 4 (joining a small, unnumbered fragment to Number 14); W. Hinz, "Zu den elamischen Briefen aus Ninive," *FHE*, 228-34; and F. Vallat, "Le royaume élamite de Zamin et les 'Lettres de Ninive,'" *IA* 33 (1998), 95-106. These letters are abbreviated here by "Nin" and the particular number (1-25) assigned by Weissbach to each fragment.

Joins: Numbers 8 and 9 (back-to-back), Walker, "Elamite Inscriptions," 79; Numbers 15 and 16.

[56] "A propos de l'origine des tablettes élamites dites 'de Ninive' conservés au British Museum," and "A propos des tablettes élamites de 'Ninive' et des découvertes de Loftus," in *N.A.B.U.* 1988/2 (Juin), Nos. 39-40.

[57] "The Elamite tablets from Nineveh," *N.A.B.U.* 1992/4 (Décembre), No. 119; supported by S. Dalley, "Nineveh after 612 BC," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 20 (1993), Heft 1, 143.

[58] "Lettres de Ninive," 95-96 and 104-106.

[59] *FHE*, 229.

[60] Hinz translates *širi.umi* as "mein Heil"; compare Hallock's definition of this word in the Persepolis Fortication texts as "'friend' or the like... as part of a formula in letters addressed to superiors" (*PFT*, 757).

[61] *Rép. géogr.* 11, 200, primarily on the contention that these tablets are not actually from Nineveh (see above). Compare his reading of this passage, "Lettres de Ninive," 98-99.

[62] Compare Vallat, "Lettres de Ninive," 99 n. 20.

Nin 13:3-4 mentions the kings of Hara and of Aššur in an uncertain context.[63] "Hara" has been read as the Assyrian toponym "Harran," but this too is disputed.[64] Reference to a "king of Aššur" dates these tablets before 609 (see below). Aššur also appears in Nin 3:3 (delocutive plural -p restored) and Nin 15:16 (also with delocutive -p).[65]

Nin 1 and 10 concern the activity of three Elamite commanders(?):[66] Halakuk, Azzimama, and Tallak-kutur. Hinz provides the following readings:[67]

Nin 1:11-12   (11)   *...te-el-te-man-pa me-*
                       (12)   *-te-na* hw.*mu-uk tu₄-na-a-h-pi-ni*

Nin 10:12-14 (12)   *...t[e]-*
                       (13)   *-el-te-<<te>>-man-pa me-te-na* GAM.*mu-uk-[tu₄]-*
                       (14)   *-na-a-h-pi...*

Compare F. Vallat for the same passages:[68]

Nin 1:11-12   (11)   *... su-el te-man-pa me-*
                       (12)   *-te-na m mu-uk tu₄-na a-ah-pi-ni*

Nin 10:13-14 (13)   x-*el te-man-pa me¹-te-na m mu-uk-[tu₄]-*
                       (14)   *-na a-ah-pi-ni*

These passages are parallel with a text found at the Ville des Artisans at Susa. Vallat's reading of the relevant section follows:[69]

      (10)   *...te-el*
      (11)   *te-man-pa me-te-na*
      (12)   ᴮᴱ*mu-uk-tu₄-na a-*
      (13)   *ah-pi-ni na-aš*

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[63] GAM_EŠŠANA ʰ*hal Harana* GAMᵊEŠŠANA¹ *hal? Aššu[ra]*. Hinz, *FHE*, 231 reads -hw- (i.e., BE) before the second EŠŠANA. It is difficult to determine whether the proper reading is BE (as Weissbach's copy) or GAM.

[64] Compare Hinz, *FHE*, 231 and *ElW*, 593 (Harran) with Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 79 (Hara). Reading the final -*na* of *Harana* as the genitive marker is uncertain. The signs after *aš-šu* in line 4 break off, so it cannot be used as a parallel. However, it appears there is only room for one more sign at the end of that line, which must be -*ra*. Line 5 begins a new word.

[65] Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 22.

[66] So Hinz, *FHE*, 228-29 and *ElW*, 499. The form ᴮᴱ*kudupi* is a hapax (restored in Nin 1 before the same three names), but it appears to be the same root as Hanni's title *kutur* (*EKI* 75:5), i.e., *kud/t(u)*+delocutive -*p*.

[67] *FHE*, 228-29. The divergence between these three readings of the text typifies work on these letters.

[68] "Kidin-Hutran," 12 n. 34.

[69] Vallat, "Lettres de Ninive," 100-103. This text was first published by H. Paper, "Note préliminaire sur la date des trois tablettes élamites de Suse," in R. Ghrishman, *Village perse-achéménide, MDP* 36 (Paris, 1954), 79, No. 1.

The parallel with Nin 1 and Nin 10 is inescapable, since Bahuri also authored the Ville des Artisans text (*MDP* 36, No. 1).[70] This establishes a firm connection between the Nineveh letters and this text from Susa, but numerous references to a king in these texts are difficult to interpret because of their fragmentary state and uncertain historical context.[71] These issues are bound with the dating of these texts, which also is uncertain (see below).

Some other notable elements in these letters involve the officials found therein. Most prevalent is the *muktu*. Hinz provisionally translates *muktu* as "Gebieter," while R. Zadok renders this word as "bailiff, magistrate."[72] Vallat emphasizes this official's military role and translates "général."[73] This official appears several times in the Nineveh texts, and Hinz believes that Bahuri reported to this *muktu*.[74] Numerous references to this official in the context of sending and receiving reports (e.g., Nin 1:8-9; Nin 8+9:7) testify to the *muktu*'s importance, but his position vis-à-vis Bahuri is unclear. A *rab ekalli* appears twice in these letters: Nin 3:6 and Nin 5:4.[75] In Nin 5, the *rab ekalli* occurs in context with the toponyms Ayapir and Katmurti (ll. 5-6). "Zamin of Hatamti" (i.e., "Zamin of Elam") occurs in the preceding lines (2-3).[76] Aside from the *rab ekalli*'s connection to these various toponyms, no more can be determined with confidence.

Economic and Administrative Texts from Susa

These texts represent the quantitative bulk of Neo-Elamite inscriptions. The first group is an archive of 298 texts discovered on the Acropolis at Susa. The second group (seven texts) was found under the Apadana.[77] These texts

contain a variation on the standard date formulae found in contemporary Babylonian documents, which usually provide the exact date (month, day, and regnal year) and the king's name. The Susa texts are dated to an unspecified day in a given month (no year or king provided) along with the city where it was drawn up. The approximate date of these texts is established primarily through their sealing impressions and how they compare to similar types from more secure archaeological contexts.[78]

The archaeological context is problematic, since there is no clear indication of the stratigraphic relationship between the texts and datable features of the Susa Acropolis.[79] The general consensus is that these texts date somewhere in the late seventh to early sixth centuries.[80] Dating these seals and texts with greater accuracy within this one hundred year period is difficult, except by historical context, which involves some speculation (see below).

MDP 9 and *MDP* 11, 309

The most extensive group of Neo-Elamite texts recorded transactions centered at Susa, although their administrative concern extended throughout much of Khuzistan. The texts track receipt and disbursement of various commodities: primarily textiles but also weapons, tools, precious metals, and other sorts of merchandise.[81] The vast majority of goods pass through the

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[70] See Hinz, *FHE*, 230 for further commentary on this passage. One of the Susa Acropolis tablets (*MDP* 9, 88) also provides a link to the Nineveh letters, and this will be discussed in the next section.

[71] In addition to Nin 13 (see above) the logogram EŠŠANA (*sunki*, "king") occurs in Nin 1:6 and 18, 3:8, 6:5, 10:15, 14:4, 15:4, and 25:7 and 14 in fragmentary contexts. It is difficult to discern if some of the instances are personal names, who this king was, and what his relationship with Bahuri was (Bahuri appears to be named "king" in Nin 25:7; see Vallat, "Lettres de Ninive," 98).

[72] Hinz, *FHE*, 232-33 and *ElOn*, 29.

[73] "Lettres de Ninive," 102.

[74] *FHE*, 232. Compare Vallat's reading of this passage, and its historical context, "Lettres de Ninive." For references to *muktu*, see *ElW*, 963.

[75] Written ^{BE}*ráb* E.GAL^{MEŠ} in the former and *ráb*^{MEŠ} ^{h}*e-kál-li* in the latter. Both lack clear context. For the reading E.GAL, see p. 89 n. 54.

[76] For Ayapir, Katmurti, and Zamin, see respectively Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 26-27; 136; and 307.

[77] The first group was published by V. Scheil in *Textes élamites-anzanites, troisième serie, MDP* 9 (Paris, 1907) and one additional tablet published with the second group, *MDP* 11, 309. The second group was published by Scheil, *Textes élamite-anzanites, quatrième serie, MDP* 11, No. 301-307 (Paris, 1911). In this second publication, Scheil

also included some other Neo-Elamite texts, with no recorded provenience: a fragmentary list of names (No. 299; *TTM*, 8); a fragmentary royal inscription (No. 300; *TTM*, 8 n. 15 and 18 n. 42); and an Achaemenid economic text (No. 308; Stolper, *Royal City*, 273 and M. Garrison, "A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078)," *JNES* 55 [1996], 15-35. 16f). J. Jusifov published transliterations and translations of these texts (in Russian) in *VDI* 84 (1963), No. 2, 191-222 and *VDI* 85 (1963), No. 3, 200-61.

[78] Stolper, *Royal City*, 267 and see below.

[79] See A. Amiet's remarks in "La glyptique de la fin de l'Elam," *Arts Asiatique* 28 (1973), 4 and M. Garrison, "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), 24 n. 31. For *MDP* 11, 308 in particular see Garrison's "Persepolis Fortification Seal," 16-18. For the Neo-Elamite excavations at Susa, see P. de Miroschedji, "Fouilles du chantier Ville Royale II à Suse (1975-1977). I. Les niveaux élamites" and "Observations dans les couches néo-élamites au nord-ouest du tell de la Ville Royale à Suse," in *DAFI* 12 (1981), 9-136 and 143-68, respectively.

[80] Amiet "La glyptique," 4-6 dates the seals (and thus the texts) to two phases of Neo-Elamite glyptic: those found on the Acropolis (*MDP* 9 and *MDP* 11, 309) preceding those found under the Apadana (*MDP* 11, 301-307). P. de Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique de la fin de l'Elam," *RA* 76 (1982), 51-63 dates both groups in the general period c. 650-600 and into the early sixth century. M. Steve, "La fin de l'Elam," 7-21 assigns them to his Neo-Elamite III B (c. 605-539 BC) period. Compare also Garrison's discussions cited in the previous footnote and J. Bollweg, "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder," *AMI* 21 (1988), 53-61. Cameron dates these texts date to the mid-sixth century (*PTT*, 24 n. 2).

[81] See Stolper's brief summary, *Royal City*, 268. These texts are not unusual among the Neo-Elamite corpus in that they too contain numerous ambiguities in vocabulary and syntax. W. Hinz discusses the more prevalent commodities (e.g., *tukli* and *kuktu*) in "Zu

jurisdiction of Kuddakaka,[82] who in *MDP* 9, 285:7 is titled *araš hutlak*. The significance of this term is uncertain, especially its first element *araš*.[83] The term *hutlak* seems securely translated as "messenger," since it appears in other Neo-Elamite and in Achaemenid texts.[84] The combination *araš hutlak* occurs only in these texts from Susa.[85] Numerous individuals bear this title in these texts, and it does not seem to capture the scope of Kuddakaka's authority. His pervasion is unique in this corpus. However, it is possible that other individuals bearing this title were in charge of similar operations at other locations and that their appearance in these texts reflects business particular to Susa and Kuddakaka.

The fact that one man figures so prominently in these texts indicates that the archive covers no more than one lifetime and perhaps considerably less time.[86] Several hundred individuals appear in this archive, and most are not identifiable elsewhere.[87] There are also references to various unnamed groups of people, identified by their ethnicity or locale, usually in the formula loosely-translated as "the ones of PN/GN."[88] Among them are several groups of Iranians, often specifically Persians but also Medes as well.[89] Assyrians also appear several times in this corpus but with no individuals labeled as such. They are identified in a similar fashion as other ethnic groups: "the ones from Aššur" (*áš-šu-ra* + delocutive plural suffix *-p*). Both the horizontal (e.g., *MDP* 9, 231) and BE (e.g., *MDP* 9, 140) determinatives are used.[90] This alternation does not follow any discernible pattern.

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den Zeughaustäfelchen aus Susa," in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, ed. G Wiessner (Wiesbaden, 1967), 85-98. Much of that discussion is incorporated into the meanings for the relevant vocabulary listed in *ElW*, but many translations remain provisional.

[82] On the name, see Zadok, "Elamite Hypocoristica," 117-18 and *ElW*, 552.

[83] Hinz discussed this word in "Zum elamischen Wortschatz," *ZA* 50 (1952), 238-43, provisionally translating it in a wider sense as "Besitz" with more exact nuances of "Speicher," "Hofwirtschaftsverwaltung," and simply "Hof." This range indicates the difficulty in interpreting the exact sense of this term. *ElW*, 82 renders it "Intendantur." For the Achaemenid texts, Hallock (*PFT*, 670) suggests "granary(?)."

[84] *PFT*, 699 and *ElW*, 726.

[85] *ElW*, 82 translates "Beauftragter der Hofkammer, Intendantur-Kommissar."

[86] Stolper, *Royal City*, 268.

[87] Over six hundred, according to W. Hinz's count, approximately ten percent of which are Iranian and the remainder primarily Elamite: "Elams Übergang ins Perserreich," in *Transition Periods in Iranian History*, StIr Cahier 5 (1987), 128-29.

[88] The orthography is GN+ip-pè; for example, [AŠ]Ayapir-ippe in *MDP* 9, 47 r. 1.

[89] For example, *MDP* 9, 187: Bagbadu, Marsunda, Mitilakšar, Namadda, and Mandukku, apparently the five Persians (as copied by Scheil: [BE]par-sìp) mentioned in r. 2. Iranian names are sprinkled throughout but are also prominent in Numbers 133 and 229. Compare the orthography of [BE]par-sìp with [h]Ayapir-ippe (and parallel examples) and note Vallat's remarks in "Les prétendus fonctionnaires *unsak* des textes néo-élamites et achéménides," *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, April 1992, Note 4.

[90] See Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 22 for citations. For a discussion of the determinatives in Neo-Elamite, see M. Steve, "Le déterminatif masculin BE en néo-élamite et élamite-achéménide," *N.A.B.U.* 1988/2 (Juin), No. 35.

Among the host of individuals within this archive, there are references to at least three kings.[91] The king of Egypt appears in Number 158. A king Appalaya occurs in *MDP* 9, 71; 80(?); and 82(?), with numerous additional references of the name without "king." Some or all of those, however, may refer to a non-royal, homonymous individual. A king Ummanunu is listed in *MDP* 9, 165:4-5 in an uncertain context,[92] while another(?) Ummanunu appears in *MDP* 9, 90; 158; 167; and 282 and in *MDP* 11, 301; 302; 303; and 305. Since the logogram for "king" is absent from these references, it is doubtful that they refer to the king Ummanunu in *MDP* 9, 165.[93]

MDP 9, 158 contains the only attestation of a non-Elamite king (i.e., the king of Egypt) in the corpus. It fits the pattern of the rest of these texts in recording a list of commodities, quantities of wood, jewelry, incense, and textiles. The text was written at Susa, perhaps indicating the final destination of these goods, but whether these commodities came as gifts from Egypt is another matter.[94] The king of Egypt received(?) a quantity of balsam. The significance of this reference is uncertain.

Appalaya is labeled "king of the ones of Zari" in *MDP* 9, 71:1-2 ([BE]*Appalaya* [su]*nki* [BE]*Zari-pè-ra*). In Numbers 80:2 and 82:6, Appalaya is identified only as "king" (i.e., [BE]*Appalaya sunki*) before the verb, the syntax of which may be read as a personal name (i.e., Appalaya-sunki). However, it is difficult to interpret the syntax of *MDP* 9, 71:1-2, since it contains both delocutive plural *-p* (for "the ones of Zari") and delocutive singular *-r* (for "Appalaya king [of]"), any other way than to identify Appalaya as king.[95] Numbers 71 and 80 were drawn up at Susa; the end of *MDP* 9, 82 is broken. The common thread in these texts is bows. A messenger of the Zari is listed in Number 178, also in context of bows, drawn up at Šeriman.[96] In *MDP* 9, 80 the king(?) Appalaya is listed in receipt of sixty bows right before an identical outlay to Marduk (hypocoristicon), king of the ones of Zari (with the same syntax as *MDP* 9, 71:1-2 for Appalaya).[97] Zari does not appear outside this corpus.

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[91] Note also *MDP* 9, 5 r. 1-2, which names Huban-kitin, son of king x. Another possible reading is Huban-kitin, son of (PN) Sunki-x. Since there is no masculine determinative before EŠŠANA, the former reading seems preferable.

[92] It is this king Ummanunu with whom Vallat connects the activities of the Bahuri of the Nineveh Letters discussed above, dating both the Susa Acropolis texts and the Nineveh Letters to the early sixth century ("Lettres de Ninive," 96).

[93] Note the Elamite rebel Martiya (in Darius I's time), who claimed he was Ummanuš, king of Elam (DB §22). Martiya may have identified himself with this Neo-Elamite ruler.

[94] Hinz ("Elams Übergang," 126) interprets this text as recording gifts from the king of Egypt and reflecting an Elamite-Egyptian alliance as prelude to Esarhaddon's invasion of Egypt – thus dating the entire archive to the early seventh century.

[95] Compare *ElOn*, 38, with other attestations of personal names in this text ending in *-sunki* (written EŠŠANA in all cases) and see Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 391 n. 43. In *MDP* 9, 165:4, the logogram EŠŠANA is written before Ummanunu's name.

[96] Šeriman does not occur elsewhere. Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 309 also cites Zari in *MDP* 9, 48 r. 8; Scheil reads Zaman.

[97] Scheil, *MDP* 9, p. 69; *ElOn*, 38; and *ElW*, 879 read the personal name "Marduk-sunki." If the *Appalaya sunki* in *MDP* 9, 80:2 is not read as a personal name, this text is

MDP 9, 88 provides a link between the Acropolis texts and the Nineveh letters. This text uses the same introductory formula found in the Nineveh letters, *na-an tu₄-[ru-iš]*, and the name Bahuri, an important individual in the Nineveh letters, is confidently restored (ll. 1-2).[98] Considering that this tablet and text No. 1 from the Ville des Artisans (see above) were found at Susa, Hinz believes that these two were original letters from an Elamite enclave in Nineveh.[99] But the toponym at the end of *MDP* 9, 88 is not Nineveh. The first sign (as copied by Scheil) is cracked, perhaps *ra*, but the remainder is clear: *-ha-da*. This is the only attestation of this toponym.[100] The surrounding context is broken.

Vallat has identified the king Ummanunu (*MDP* 9, 165) as the father of Šilhak-Inšušinak II (*EKI* 78),[101] with significant repercussions for the traditional interpretations of Neo-Elamite history. Vallat thus removes Šilhak-Inšušinak II and his son Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak from the mid-seventh century sequence of kings and assigns them to the sixth century. This assignment rejects the traditional Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak – Te'umman equation, the problems of which have been discussed above (pp. 49-50). Vallat's scheme has merit, because the only Neo-Elamite attestation of Ummanunu known beyond Šilhak-Inšušinak II's father occurs in these texts. However, this does not preclude another individual of that name dating to the early seventh century.[102]

The geographic scope of the Acropolis texts covered much of Khuzistan and beyond, but the locations of many of the places named in the corpus are unknown. Susa is certainly the most prevalent, appearing at the end (which indicates the place of origin) of more than one-third of these tablets. Places cited range from northern Mesopotamia to the shores of the Persian Gulf (at Bušire) and to Fars: Huhnur, Hidalu, Liyan, Ayapir, Anshan, Babylon, and Aššur, among others. The majority of the places named have a delocutive suffix, which in such instances appears to act as a gentilic. This may reflect more the cosmopolitan nature of Susiana in this period rather than the reach of this particular Neo-Elamite commerce.

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very difficult to interpret; perhaps Marduk was a predecessor or successor of Appalaya (see Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 391 n. 43).

[98] Note Vallat, "Lettres de Ninive," 96 n. 6 and 100. A similar formula appears in the second of two letters published by M. Lambert, discussed below.

[99] Hinz, *FHE*, 227 and 230-31.

[100] Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 227.

[101] "Nouvelle analyse," 393 and *passim*.

[102] Vallat identifies the Huban-menanu (Akkadian, *Umman-menanu*), who ruled from 692-689, as the father of the Šutur-Nahhunte of *EKI* 71 (see above, pp. 81-82). For reading *Ummanunu* as *Huban-menanu*, see above, p. 41.

MDP 11, 301-307[103]

These seven texts from the Apadana are legal documents, recording promissory notes for gold and silver, though one is a receipt for sheep. Each text contains the names of the witnesses and the scribe.[104] Among the preponderance of Elamite names are some Iranian ones (e.g., Harina and Mardunuš of *MDP* 11, 306). Ummanunu is prominent in this group of texts, and Appalaya appears in *MDP* 11, 305. Whether these two are the same individuals as those who appear in the Acropolis texts is uncertain. Vallat suggests that the *muktu* Huban-ahpi (*MDP* 11, 302:2) may be the same *muktu* who appears in the Nineveh letters,[105] though in the Nineveh letters the *muktu*'s name is not given.

In those texts where a date is extant, it follows the formula of the Acropolis texts: ᴵᵀᴵx[month name] UD-*ma*, i.e., "a day in the month x."[106] The Neo-Babylonian logograms are used for all the months save one. The exception is the seventh month, Elamite *Rahal*.[107] This month name appears in *MDP* 11, 302, numerous times in the Acropolis texts, in the Bronze Plaque (r. 11), and in the Persepolis texts. It may reflect a late Neo-Elamite phenomenon that carried over into the Achaemenid period.

Inscribed Seals

The Susa Acropolis and Apadana tablets are marked with various seals, some of which are inscribed.[108] One of the more common seals (Amiet's Number 6, on more than one hundred tablets) contains an Akkadian evocation, the only non-Elamite writing in the corpus. The seal portrays two winged genie facing each other across a tree crowned by the sun. A smaller figure behind one of the genie may have been added later, perhaps by an Elamite official who took this as his seal.[109] The inscription runs as follows: "Save me from

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[103] Arguing primarily from paleographic considerations, Paper connects his No. 3 in *MDP* 36, p. 81 to this group. Steve, *Syllabaire*, 23 does likewise.

[104] Stolper, *Royal City*, 267-68.

[105] "Lettres de Ninive," 102-103.

[106] Since this formula does not indicate an exact date or a year, Stolper believes that these texts may represent a practice of monthly audits (*Royal City*, 268).

[107] See Hallock's discussion of this month name, *PFT*, 75. For the Elamite months in earlier periods, see E. Reiner's excursus in "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," *AfO* 24 (1973), 97-102.

[108] The seminal publication is L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1910. P. Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin de l'Élam," *Arts Asiatique* 28 (1973), 3-32 and Plates 1-11 provides pictures and drawings of the impressions, along with commentary.

[109] Amiet, "La glyptique," 8-9 and Pl. 2.

need and distress, Marduk! Nabû, guard my life (and) grant me good health!" (*ina pušqi u dannati šūzibanni* ^d*Marduk* ^d*Nabû uṣur napišti balāṭa qīšam*). Mesopotamian influence on Neo-Elamite glyptic is widely acknowledged,[110] but in this instance we have a Neo-Babylonian seal and inscription in an otherwise wholly Elamite context.

Amiet's hypothesis that the subsequently added smaller figure is indicative of an Elamite official's adoption of this seal reasonably explains this enigma. Although Babylonian groups appear in this archive, there is no firm evidence that Elam was ruled by Babylonia at this time. In light of the mixed population in Khuzistan during this period, it is not difficult to envision a Babylonian in Elamite service – even one with considerable administrative influence. Most of the other seal inscriptions from this corpus are illegible, broken, or contain persons about whom there is no further information: at least thirteen private individuals or low-level officials in this Elamite bureaucracy.

Another seal inscription of note – curiously written right to left – has been treated by F. Vallat.[111] Amiet's Number 32 is inscribed: "Parsirra son of Kurluš." The latter name occurs in the Acropolis texts and also upon a gold ring from the tomb of Arjān inscribed "Kidin-Hutran son of Kurluš."[112] Two inscribed seals published by M. Van Loon also belong to this late period.[113] The cylinder seal of Huban-kitin, son of Šutur-Nahhunte, is discussed in Appendix B (p. 115).

Two Neo-Elamite Letters from Susa

M. Lambert published two Neo-Elamite letters (Louvre Sb 13080 and Sb 13081) in hand-copy, transliteration, and brief commentary.[114] These letters are addressed to the same individual, although the introductory formulas vary slightly.[115] The second letter's introductory formula parallels that found in the Nineveh letters. Despite the difficulties involved in translation and inter-

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[110] See in general P. de Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique," 51-63 with references.

[111] "Une inscription élamite écrite de droite à gauche!" *N.A.B.U.* 1995/2 (Juin), No. 45.

[112] For the inscription, see F. Vallat, "Kidin-Hutran." For the discovery of this tomb and the gold ring, see A. Alizadeh, "A Tomb of the Neo-Elamite Period at Arjān, near Behbahan," *AMI* 18 (1985), 49-73.

[113] "Two Neo-Elamite Cylinder Seals with Mounted Horsemen," *IA* 23 (1988), 221-30. F. Vallat provides a brief overview of the inscriptions, including parallels to other texts, in "L'inscription du cylindre néo-élamite de Chigha Sabz (Luristan)," *N.A.B.U.* 1992/1 (Mars), No. 14.

[114] "Deux textes élamites de la fin du septième siècle," *JA* 265 (1977), 221-25. Because of the difficult nature of the texts, he did not attempt translation.

[115] C. E. Jones and M. W. Stolper, "Two Late Elamite Tablets at Yale," *FHE*, 243-54. They also note significant variation in the use of determinatives among these varied late texts. See also Steve, "Le déterminatif masculin BE en néo-élamite et élamite-aché-ménide," *N.A.B.U.* 1988/2 (Juin), No. 35. and F. Vallat, "Formules de voeux en élamite," *N.A.B.U.* 1998/4 (Décembre), No. 126.

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pretation, there are some notable features. Tin-sunki (Akkadian *Dīn-šarri*) occurs in the first letter[116] along with the only Neo-Elamite attestation of the Akkadian determinative LÚ.[117] Steve, on paleographical grounds, dates these letters to his Neo-Elamite III B period (c. 605-539) in the milieu of the Nineveh letters and the Apadana tablets (*MDP* 11, 301-307).[118]

Unique Texts

Under this heading are placed the remaining inscriptions of concern to this work. These individual texts are unique in the Neo-Elamite corpus and/or poorly understood. V. Scheil published various Neo-Elamite texts in *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* in the 1920s. One such text from Susa records an omen series mentioning Assyria and the children of a king, whose name is not given.[119] Scheil parallels this text with the series of astrological omens published by C. Virolleaud.[120] The Elamite scribe Ate-kitin (left side, 1. 1) is unattested elsewhere. A similar text records a list of favorable days by month, but little more may be said of it.[121] An otherwise unknown [Hu]tran-kitin appears at the end. An inscription on a fragment of a terracotta vase records a dedication to Inšušinak, but it offers no other information.[122]

In a fragmentary legal text,[123] a list of witnesses and a curse formula contains fourteen names, three of which appear elsewhere. These may be homonymous individuals. A Kite-Marduk (1. 3) occurs in *MDP* 9, 280:3, and

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[116] Tin-sunki was probably in Susiana. It was prominent in Ashurbanipal's campaign against Huban-haltaš III and destroyed along with several other Elamite cities (*BIWA*, 50 v 85). See Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 57. Another toponym appears six lines later, listed Haùka (Vallat, *Rép. géogr.* 11, 94). Note that Steve, *Syllabaire*, No. 318 describes the *ù* element of that toponym as "douteuse."

[117] Steve, *Syllabaire*, No. 330.

[118] Ibid., 23. Stolper, *TTM*, 8 n. 15 notes that the sign forms of these tablets are "quite different from and seemingly earlier than" the Nineveh letters and those published by H. Paper in *MDP* 36.

[119] V. Scheil, "Déchiffrement d'un document anzanite relatif aux présages," *RA* 14 (1917), 29-53. This text is usually referred to simply as "Présages" by modern commentators. Steve, *Syllabaire*, 22 dates it to his Neo-Elamite II period (c. 750-653).

[120] See Scheil, "Déchiffrement," 30. C. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéene* (Paris, 1903). Steve notes (*Syllabaire*, 160 No. 459) that the presence of the logogram DU₆ for Tašrītu (VII) in this text (Face §1 1. 4) suggests that it is a copy of an Akkadian original. In all other Neo-Elamite texts, the seventh month is written syllabically *Rahal*. *CT* 54, 57+:47 - r. 3 (S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars, SAA* X [Helsinki, 1993], No. 160) notes scholars who have returned from Elam, a type of cross-cultural exchange that would offer a general context for the "Présages" text.

[121] V. Scheil, "Hémérologie élamite," *RA* 22 (1925), 157-58.

[122] V. Scheil, "Vers l'écriture nucléiforme," *RA* 24 (1927), 43.

[123] V. Scheil, "Bon plaisir royal," *RA* 25 (1928), 40-42.

a Kitin-Marduk (l. 7) occurs in *MDP* 11, 299:7.[124] The third name occurring outside this text, Aksir-Inšuš[inak], is broken, but it may be the same as that in *MDP* 11, 299 r. 6. If so, the latter two individuals' names allow a possible link between Scheil's *RA* 25 text and *MDP* 11, 299.[125] The latter is similarly a list of names, but it too is fragmentary and offers no significant information.

Some other unique texts include a small number of letters found in scattered contexts: MLC 1308;[126] *MDP* 36, Numbers 1 and 3;[127] and BM 62783.[128] They are all comparable to the Nineveh letters in form and content, but only *MDP* 36, Number 1 offers an obvious link to that corpus (see above). Steve dates all these to his Neo-Elamite III B period (c. 605-539).[129] Two brief economic texts (*MDP* 36, Number 2 and *MDP* 28, 468 – found separately at Susa) also date to this late period.

Inclusion of a final group of inscriptions is problematic on several levels beyond the historical interpretation of their contents. Several inscribed silver bowls contain the names of kings of Samati,[130] a Neo-Elamite kingdom about which nothing is known beyond the names of the kings on these bowls. They date to the Neo-Elamite III period (653 - c. 550).[131]

Historical Considerations

Among the inscriptions described in this chapter, several connections have been noted between the Nineveh letters, the Susa Acropolis (*MDP* 9 and *MDP* 11, 309) and Apadana texts (*MDP* 11, 301-307), and *MDP* 36 No. 1 and No. 3. These texts are assigned herein to the same period (i.e., the late seventh century); however, some of these provisional chronological links may encompass more than one generation. It must be emphasized that this reconstruction is speculative.

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[124] Note the separate listings in *ElW*, 488 (Kite-Marduk) and 491 (reading Kitin-Marduk-galzu) and see *ElOn*, 21.

[125] See *TTM*, 8-9. Steve (*Syllabaire*, 21) dates these two texts to his Neo-Elamite II period (c. 750-653).

[126] C. E. Jones and M. W. Stolper, *FHE*, 243-54.

[127] H. Paper, "Note préliminaire sur la date des trois tablettes élamites de Suse," *MDP* 36, 1954, 79-82.

[128] C. B. F. Walker, "Elamite Inscriptions in the British Museum," *Iran* 18 (1980), 79 and Fig. 4; provenience given as Sippar, which is anomalous.

[129] *Syllabaire*, 22f.

[130] These bowls were part of a larger hoard of mostly silver objects. They were not fully published as of this writing and are scattered in various collections. For a brief background, see D. Keys, "Iran holds key to ancient treasure chest," *The Independent*, 4 February 1996, sec. "The world," p. 15 and V. Donbaz, "A median (?) votive inscription on silver vessel," *N.A.B.U.* 1996/2 (Juin), No. 43.

[131] See F. Vallat's overview, "Le royaume élamite SAMATI," *N.A.B.U.* 1996/1 (Mars), No. 31 and Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 306. Any conclusions based on the incomplete publication of these inscriptions must be provisional.

Whether one accepts some or all of these proposed links, it is extremely difficult to incorporate this material into a coherent historical framework. Barring new discoveries, the opportunities for comparative chronology are lost with the significant decline in Assyrian sources dealing with Elam after the 640s. The Elamite texts themselves offer few chronological clues beyond what may be gleaned from stratigraphic, epigraphic, and stylistic analyses. Such criteria are fraught with uncertainty, and any conclusions reached therefrom must be tentative. Dating these texts to the Neo-Elamite III period seems secure, but further precision within that frame is elusive. This leaves approximately one century (i.e., c. 653-550) in which to assign these texts. At present, it is difficult to do more than speculate regarding the particulars of Neo-Elamite history during this period.

The Acropolis texts and Nineveh letters reveal renewed but splintered Elamite kingdoms that were in contact with Mesopotamia, various Iranian peoples, and even Egypt. The inscriptions of Hanni at Mālamīr, the Bronze Plaque of Persepolis, and references in the inscriptions of Atta-hamiti-Inšušunak indicate political entities in southeastern Khuzistan, but whether these inscriptions' authors were bound to or rivals of a kingdom that encompassed Susa is uncertain.[132]

One possible chronological anchor may be provided by the reference to the king of Assyria in Nin 13:4. If one assumes that there was no "king of Assyria" of which to speak after 609,[133] the Nineveh letters must date before that time. While Nineveh may well have been occupied after its sack, it is easier to envision Elamite officials there while Nineveh was still an important center, before 612.[134]

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[132] See Stolper, *Elam*, 55.

[133] Compare Vallat, "Lettres de Ninive," 100. For the late Assyrian period, see J. Oates, "The Fall of Assyria (635-609 B.C.)," in *CAH*[2], Vol. III, Part 2, 162-93 with references.

[134] See S. Dalley, "Nineveh after 612 BC," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 20 (1993), 134-47.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

The material discussed in Chapter Seven provides ample evidence for at least one renewed Elamite kingdom after the Assyrian depredations of the 640s and apparently simultaneous kingdoms by the late seventh century. At this time, three external factors must be kept in mind with regard to Neo-Elamite history: the Neo-Babylonian empire in Mesopotamia, the preeminence of the Medes in northern Iran, and the rise of a Persian kingdom in Fars.

Beyond the late Neo-Elamite sources some independent material is available. Chronicle 2 of the Neo-Babylonian chronicle series records that Nabopolassar (625-605) returned "the gods of Susa" to Susa during Addaru (XII) of his accession year. These gods are described as those whom the Assyrians carried off and settled in Uruk.[1] The Chronicle does not specify when this action occurred, but after the sack of Susa seems a logical assumption. However, Ashurbanipal's annals relate that the gods taken during the sack of Susa were removed to Assyria.[2]

The timing of and reasons for Nabopolassar's return of these gods may indicate that he sought Elamite assistance against the Assyrians, just as his Chaldean predecessors often did. The Elamite gods were presumably returned to some sort of organized polity, so Nabopolassar's gesture suggests that an Elamite kingdom existed at this time.[3] It is unknown if Susa was this late kingdom's center, but this reference demonstrates that Susa recovered from Ashurbanipal's vicious sack within a generation.

Chronicle 5 of the Neo-Babylonian chronicle series records a confrontation between Nebuchadnezzar, called king of Akkad, and the king of another place, the name of which is broken away. The entry is dated to the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar II (596), and the scene was the bank of the Tigris. The opposing king fled in fear from Nebuchadnezzar II before battle was joined. "King of Elam" is a plausible restoration in this section,[4] but this uncertain reference is not enough to assert a revitalized Elam that was capable of threatening Babylonia at the height of its power in the first millennium.

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[1] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 88 ll. 16-17.

[2] *BIWA*, 53-54 A vi 30-47 lists several Elamite gods removed from Susa to Assyria.

[3] Stolper, *Elam*, 53.

[4] Grayson, *Chronicles*, 102 r. 16-20. See Stolper, *Elam*, 54.

Some scattered texts found in Susa have been cited as evidence for Babylonian control of Susa during the first half of the sixth century. They are primarily votive or utilitarian objects (inscribed in Akkadian) containing the names of the kings Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562), Amēl-Marduk (561-560), and Nergal-šar-uṣur (559-556). Included in these are bricks stamped with Nebuchadnezzar's name used in the construction of buildings.[5] However, similar bricks were found at Persepolis as well, and few would postulate Neo-Babylonian control of Fars in the sixth century.[6] At present, identifying these finds as war trophies or the like, rather than as evidence for Neo-Babylonian dominion in Susa, is pragmatic. Another text mentions oil for 713 Elamites under the Babylonian eunuch (*ša rēši*) Nabû-le'û.[7] This reference has been viewed as evidence for Babylonian domination of Elam, but it too constitutes a doubtful case.[8] Any number of circumstances might be posited, but a subjugated Elam is not a necessary component. Details of Elam's political relationship with Babylonia during the late seventh and early sixth centuries are unknown, but there is no compelling evidence to make Elam a part of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

Some biblical material adds to the sources on Elam during this period, but these passages occur in prophetic and stylized contexts. One such reference occurs in Jeremiah 49:34, wherein the prophet predicted the breaking of the bow of Elam and the scattering of its people. Ezekiel 32:22-25 describes the fallen Assyria and Elam in similar terms, a passage dated to 584.[9] Ezra 2:7 notes Elamites among those imprisoned by Nebuchadnezzar.[10] These pas-

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[5] These texts may be found in V. Scheil, *MDP* 2 (1900), 123-25; *MDP* 4 (1902), Pl. 18 No. 4; *MDP* 5 (1904), xxiii; *MDP* 10 (1908), 96; *MDP* 14 (1913), 60; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Notes assriologiques," *RA* 9 (1912), 21-22; and M. de Mecquenem, "Fouilles de Suse," *RA* 21 (1924), 108f. See Stolper, *Elam*, 54.

[6] S. Zawadzki, *The Fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian Relations in Light of the Nabopolassar Chronicle* (Poznań, 1988), 142 citing E. Schmidt, *Persepolis I* (Chicago 1953), 174 and 179 and *Persepolis II*, (Chicago 1957), 56-64. See also Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 291.

[7] E. Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), 929-30.

[8] M. Dandmaev and V. Lukonin argue for Babylonian domination based on this evidence, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (Cambridge, 1989), 58-59.

[9] Zawadzki, *Fall of Assyria*, 139-41. He takes the above passages, along with Isaiah 21:2 (from which he interprets Elam as an ally of Media), as evidence that a weakened and unaided Elam was hardly in a position to confront Babylonia in 596, as the restored Chronicle passage suggests, unless it was coerced. See Potts, *Archaeology of Elam*, 290-95. A joint Median-Elamite effort against Babylonia at this time would be revealing, but there is not enough evidence to build upon it.

[10] Later in the same passage (2:31) captives from "the other Elam" are mentioned. This reference is ambiguous, but perhaps it confirms multiple Elamite kingdoms at this time? Ezra 4:9 refers to Elamites deported by Ashurbanipal to what was then the Achaemenid province of Beyond the River.

sages are too ambiguous for reconstructing Neo-Elamite history without independent confirmation.[11]

Elam's political disintegration reached its climax in the sixth century, but the lack of source documentation makes this difficult to trace with any confidence. The Persians under Cyrus II and his predecessors steadily increased their power, first over their fellow Persians in Fars and then the neighboring Elamites. It is an intelligible progression to view a declining Elam (splintered into small kingdoms) gradually subsumed by a rising Persian empire, but the specific steps of this progression are elusive.

Political Structure

The nature of the extant source material demands that any remarks about Neo-Elamite political structure be provisional and, in many cases, speculative. Specific developments during the transitional period between the Šutrukid Dynasty (approximately the late twelfth to early eleventh centuries) and the first firmly attested Neo-Elamite king (Huban-nikaš I, 743-717) simply cannot be traced. In these intervening centuries, there is no conclusive evidence whether or not Elam remained united under a single king. When the Babylonian Chronicle relates that Huban-nikaš I ascended the throne in 743, it gives no information regarding his predecessor or in what political climate this accession occurred.   After 743 Babylonian and Assyrian sources give the impression of a single king of Elam, at least until 653 (see below). If Elam had split into smaller kingdoms at the end of the Middle Elamite period, then apparently Huban-nikaš I or one of his predecessors unified Elam – at least from the Mesopotamian perspective. The Babylonian Chronicle relates that Huban-nikaš I's successor was his "sister-son" (*mār aḫātišu*) Šutruk-Nahhunte II, and Šutruk-Nahhunte identified his father in his own inscriptions as King Huban-immena. These references may imply a dynastic marriage between the families of Huban-immena and Huban-tahra (Huban-nikaš I's father).

Neo-Elamite royal titulary may not be used in itself to interpret the political reality. The ceremonial title "king of Anshan and Susa" may have held some political validity as claimed by Šutruk-Nahhunte II. If one might judge by Sennacherib's notice of an Anshan contingent in Huban-menanu's army at Halule (691), it is reasonable to assume that the Elamite kings through Huban-menanu maintained a realistic claim to Anshan. In the case of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (date uncertain), on the other hand, his claim as king of Anshan and Susa has no verifiable base.

One Neo-Elamite ruler claimed only the general title "king" (Šilhak-Inšušinak II); some bore the same title in other inscriptions (Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada; Šutur-Nahhunte, father of Huban-kitin; Huban-šuturuk; Appalaya; Ummanunu; and the kings of Samati); while still others bear no title at all (Hallutaš-Inšušinak and Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak). For those rulers not identifiable in Mesopotamian texts, the extent of their kingship has no independent check.

Mesopotamian sources must be used as primary for Neo-Elamite history. There is no firm evidence to contradict the portrayal in Mesopotamian historical sources (specifically, the Babylonian Chronicle and Assyrian annals and letters) of a single king of Elam until 653. The Babylonian Chronicle and the Assyrian annals usually relate a father-to-son or brother-to-brother succession to the reign of Te'umman (664?-653). There are two exceptions: the accession of Šutruk-Nahhunte, sister-son of his predecessor (Huban-nikaš I), and the lack of an attested relationship between Huban-menanu and Huban-haltaš I. It is uncertain if the latter instance indicates a dynastic break or merely a gap in the source material. The general lack of evidence thwarts a clear picture of Neo-Elamite political structure and leaves numerous questions and uncertainties.

A possible divergence from the linear progression of kings occurs with the economic tablet A 33248, which is dated to the fifteenth year of Hallušu (see above, p. 28). If this tablet may be assigned to the Hallušu who reigned as king of Elam from 699-693 (according to the Babylonian Chronicle), and if the tablet's date did not result from scribal error, it has serious ramifications for the understanding of the early Neo-Elamite monarchy. What was Hallušu's position in the Elamite political structure? What was his official status in relation to his brother Šutruk-Nahhunte II, who was called the "king of Elam" through the end of his reign in 699? This situation may reflect a decentralized Neo-Elamite state with several contemporary rulers, among whom Šutruk-Nahhunte II was paramount.[12] But it is premature to build too much upon this singular and broken reference, especially with regard to a hierarchical or decentralized rule.

Likewise, the ramifications of maintaining the identification of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak with Te'umman (664?-653) are significant, especially if the Šilhak-Inšušinak of *EKI* 78 is identified as that Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak's father. If so, King Šilhak-Inšušinak must have been contemporary with Huban-haltaš I or his successors. Šilhak-Inšušinak called himself "king" but did not specify of what. Identifying Šilhak-Inšušinak's father Ummanunu (*EKI* 78:1-2) with Huban-menanu (692-689) further complicates relations among Neo-Elamite royalty of one or more contemporaneous kingdoms. As with the divergent possibilities discussed above (regarding the potential significance of A 33248), the identifications of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak with Te'umman and Šilhak-Inšušinak's father Ummanunu with Huban-menanu are uncertain. Reconstruction of Neo-Elamite history based on these identifica-

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[11] For a general overview of the use of biblical material as a historical source, see J. Licht, "Biblical Historicism," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in biblical and cuneiform literatures*, ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (Jerusalem, 1983), 107-20 and references.

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[12] See Stolper's remarks, *FHE*, 239.

tions is tentative and, indeed, counter to the political situation in Elam as related by Mesopotamian sources. The Mesopotamian sources surely do not tell the entire story, however.

The prominence of Madaktu and (to some extent) Hidalu as Elamite political centers demonstrates the importance of the peripheral mountainous zones in Elam's political structure. There is little indication in the sources that Susa served as an important political center during the Neo-Elamite period. From Madaktu's first appearance in the sources, it is described as "his [Kudur-Nahhunte's] royal city" (*āl šarrūtišu*).[13] Its first mention is in the context of the flight of Kudur-Nahhunte (693-692) from Madaktu to Hidalu, and his flight sets a pattern for subsequent Elamite kings' reactions to Assyrian attacks – at least as represented by Assyrian sources. Were it not for these features, however, Madaktu or Hidalu would not stand out from the host of other toponyms labeled "his royal city" in the annals, for example: Ḫaltamaš, Susa, Pidilma, and Bupila (among others).[14] Each "royal city" is described as belonging to the particular king against whom a campaign was directed.

The rebel Elamite kings (*miḫret Ummanaldaš*[15]) Huban-habua and Pa'e did not hold any royal cities, identified as such. The former "sat upon the throne of Elam" in Bupila the "city of the seat of his power" (URU *mūšab belūtišu*), while the latter is described only as ruling Elam and fleeing to Ashurbanipal, with no royal city or even power base identified.[16] There are no particulars provided about how the Neo-Elamite system operated. In some instances, a notable personage is mentioned in the annals in conjunction with a particular city,[17] but such details are usually lacking.

Nevertheless, it is prudent to remain within the bounds of the Babylonian Chronicle, in conjunction with Assyrian annals and letters, and to assume that Elam was unified from the mid-eighth century into the reign of Te'umman (664?-653). The question remains open. This assumption, of course, does not preclude factional strife between rival families or even members of the same family. Such incidents are numerous in the sources, and they may reflect the struggle between individuals from separate, regional powers. But if multiple kingdoms existed before the mid-seventh century, they are not obvious in the sources. Certainly, Elam's political structure in the first millennium was not static, but its specific evolution cannot currently be traced with exactitude.

At the end of the reign of Te'umman (653) there is evidence for two kings ruling simultaneously in Elam. Te'umman, king of Elam, and Ištarnandi, king

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[13] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 40 v 4.

[14] *BIWA*, 50 A v 83f and *passim* with regard to Elamite campaigns throughout the annals.

[15] Translated "in opposition to Huban-haltaš (III)"; see above, pp. 71 and 77.

[16] *BIWA*, 47 A v 15-20 and 60 A vii 51-57.

[17] For example, Imbappi the *qīpu* official of Bit-Imbî and in-law (*ḫatānu*) of Huban-haltaš III (*BIWA*, 46-47 A v 1-2 and F iii 53-54). Such instances offer scant material for attempts to elucidate Neo-Elamite administration. The difficulties of working only from Assyrian approximations of comparable (and unknown) Elamite titles are immense.

of Hidalu, offer the plainest case of concurrent kings before the 640s, but even this instance is not without some ambiguity (see above, pp. 54, 56). If Ištarnandi did rule concurrently with Te'umman, this reflects Elam's split into separate kingdoms, an event that is not evident in the source material. It was no coincidence that, after the deaths of Te'umman and Ištarnandi, the political situation in Elam began to deteriorate rapidly – due in no small part to increased Assyrian involvement in Elam's internal affairs. The Assyrian sources relate that factional strife became rampant in Elam and that political conditions were unsettled throughout the late 650s and early 640s. Unsettled conditions, factional strife, and a rapid succession of kings (with the longest reign being about three years) indicate a complete breakdown in the Elamite political structure. After the sack of Susa, Mesopotamian sources provide limited information on Elam until the early Persian period. Analysis of the late Elamite sources indicates that Elam persisted in its fragmented state until it lost its independence to Persia.

It may be productive to view Neo-Elamite history as the kings' ongoing struggle not only to deal with their intrusive, Mesopotamian neighbors but also to hold together a coalition of royal families who had power bases spread throughout Khuzistan and the highlands. The Neo-Elamites were also affected by the expansion of their Iranian neighbors, particularly the Medes and Persians, but Elam's relations with these peoples are obscure. The Middle Elamite kingdom's dissolution may have resulted in numerous, independent kingdoms in the early part of the first millennium, which strong rulers (e.g., Huban-nikaš I) forged into a revived Elamite kingdom – united, but with several potentially explosive elements. Huban-nikaš I and his successors managed to maintain a single kingdom (with varying degrees of success) for well over a century before continued Assyrian pressure wore Elam down into separate kingdoms – still linked by way of language, commerce, and tradition but lacking the political cohesion and military strength to fend off Persian expansion.

APPENDIX A

Chronology of Neo-Elamite Kings[1]

Huban-nikaš I	743-717	
Šutruk-Nahhunte II	717-699	
Ḥallušu	699-693	(*Hallutaš-Inšušinak?*)
Kudur-Nahhunte	693-692	
Huban-menanu	692-689	
Huban-haltaš I	689-681	(contemporary with *Šilhak-Inšušinak II?*)
Huban-haltaš II	681-675	
Urtak	675-664?	
Te'umman	664?-653	(*Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak?*)
Ištarnandi	???-653	
Huban-nikaš II	653-652?	
Tammaritu I	652?-649?	
Indabibi	649?-648?	
Huban-haltaš III	648?-645?	
Tammaritu II	647?	
Huban-habua	647?	
Pa'e	646?	

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[1] Regnal years for Neo-Elamite kings are given where known. Only kings who appear in Mesopotamian sources are given dates, since Elamite texts do not provide chronology. Italics indicate those kings known from Neo-Elamite inscriptions. After Urtak's accession in 675, and for all kings known from Neo-Elamite inscriptions, the chronology is provisional or simply unknown.

Compare Vallat, "Nouvelle analyse," 393 and *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VIII, 310.

Rulers of uncertain date, with ascribed titulary

Šutur-Nahhunte (son of Indada), king

Šutur-Nahhunte (father of Huban-kitin), king

Hanni, chief(?) (*kutur*) of Ayapir

Appalaya, king of the Zarians

Ummanunu, king

Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, king of Anshan and Susa

Huban-šuturuk, king

Ampiriš, *Unzi-kilik*, *Anni-šilhak*, and *Unsak*, kings of Samati

APPENDIX B

Šutruk-Nahhunte and Šutur-Nahhunte

Numerous attestations of Šutruk-Nahhunte and Šutur-Nahhunte cause no small confusion in Neo-Elamite studies. Šutur-Nahhunte is the more common form. Debate continues as to which inscriptions are to be attributed to which Šutruk-/Šutur-Nahhunte.[1] Connecting one or more of the relevant inscriptions to Šutruk-Nahhunte II, the Neo-Elamite king of this name most prominent in the Mesopotamian sources, is only the beginning. A list of the attestations of these forms, from the Malyan tablets (c. 1000) onward, follows. The Elamite titulary (if any) accompanies the reference. In Mesopotamian texts, the title is always "king" unless otherwise noted.

1) Šutruk-Nahhunte (See *TTM*, 7 and *ElW*, 1194)
    šu-ut-ru-uk-⌈nah-hu⌉-[un-te]
    Titulary: *sukir* (*su-kir₁₀* "king")[2]

2) King Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Huban-immena (*EKI* 71:1-2)
    [ᵛš]*u-tur-*ᵈPÍR *šá-ak* ᵛᵈ*hu-ban-im-me-na-gi-ik-ki*
    Titulary: "I am the king of Anshan and Susa, the expander of the realm."
    su-un-ki-ik-ki ʰ*an-z[a]-an* ʰ*šu-šu-un-ka₄ li-ku-me ri-šá-ak-ka₄*

3) Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Huban-immena (Amiet, *Syria* 44 [1967], 37)
    ᵛ*šu-tur-*ᵈPÍR *šá-a[k* ᵛᵈ*hu]-[b]an-im-me-na-g[i]*
    Titulary: [king of] Anshan and Susa
    [...] ʰ*an-za-an* ʰ*šu-[šu-un]*

4) Šutruk-Nahhunte, son of Huban-immena (*EKI* 72/*IRS* 57:1-3)
    ᵛ*šu-ut-ru-[uk]-*ᵈPÍR *ša-ak* ᵛᵈ*hu-ban-im-me-na-gi-ik-ki*

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[1] Previous discussions in addition to those cited below include: E. de Waele, "Shutruk-Nahhunte II et les reliefs rupestres dits néo-élamites d'Iseh/Malamir," *Revue des Archeologues et Historiens d'art de Louvain* 5 (1972), 17-31 and P. de Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique de la fin de l'Élam," *RA* 76 (1982), 61f and *FHE*, 218-19.

[2] For the reading *kir₁₀* for *gìr*, see Steve, *Syllabaire*, No. 444. This spelling also occurs in M-1157 (see *ElW*, 1098); in *EKI* 74 II 2 and 12; and in *EKI* 72:4-6. Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak uses *sukir* in *EKI* 86:3 and 10 and in his titulary in *EKI* 87:1 (left edge) but the traditional *sunki* in his titulary at *EKI* 86:1. The Middle Elamite king Šilhak-Inšušinak I also used both spellings in one of his inscriptions (*EKI* 45 i 16 and vii 6). Use of this variant orthography for "king" does not appear to have significant implications.

Titulary: "I am the expander of the realm, *katru*[3] of Elam, *men.kulikki*[4] of Elam"

li-ku-me [ri]-ša-ak-ka₄ ka₄-at-ru ha-tamₓ-tuk me-en-ku-li-ik-ki ha-tamₓ-ti-uk

5) Šutruk-Nahhunte, son of Huban-immena
   [ᵛšu-ut-ru-uk-ᵈPÍR ša¹-ak ᵛᵈhu-ban-im-me-na-gi-ik-k]i⁵ (*EKI* 73 A: 1)
   [ᵛšu]-ut-ru-uk-ᵈPÍR ša-ak ᵛᵈhu-ban-im-me-na-ri-me (*EKI* 73 C: 6)
   Titulary: "I am the king of Anshan and S[usa, expander of the realm, *katru* of Elam, *men.kulikki* of E]lam"
   su-un-ki-ik an-za-an š[u-šu-un-ka₄ li-ku-me ri-ša¹-ak-ka₄ ka₄-at-ru ha-tamₓ-tuk me-en-ku-li-ik-ki h]a-tamₓ-tuk (*EKI* 73 A: 1-2)

6) Ištarhundu, sister-son of Huban-nikaš (Babylonian Chronicle i 40 and ii 32-34; Grayson, *Chronicles*, 75, 78)
   iš-tar-hu-un-du DUMU *a-ha-ti-šú*

7) Šutur-Nahundi (Sargon's annals[6])
   ᵐšu-túr-ᵈna-hu-un-di

8) Šutur-Nahudu (Sennacherib's annals[7])
   ᵐšu-túr-ᵈna-hu-du

9) Šutruk-Nahhunte (*EKI* 74 II 12/13 and 18)
   ᵛšu-ut-ru-uk-ᵈnah-hu-un-te
   Titulary: *sukir* "king"

10) Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada (*EKI* 75:10)
   ᵛšu-tur-ᵈPÍR šá-ak in-da-da-ri-na
   Titulary: EŠŠANA (*sunki*) "king"

11) Ištarnanhundi (statue of king) (Ashurbanipal's annals[8])
   ᵐiš-tar-na-an-hu-un-di

12) Ištarnandi (head of, king of Hidalu) (Epigraph of Ashurbanipal[9])
   ᵐiš-tar-na-an-di MAN šá ᴷᵁᴿHidali

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[3] For this term, see F. Grillot, "Trinôme de la royauté en Élam," *StIr* 13 (1984), 185-91 and *ElW*, 411.

[4] Uncertain formation and meaning (*ElW*, 909).

[5] Restore *ša* in *ša-ak* and *ri-ša-ak-ka₄* (line 2) instead of König's *šá*, on parallel with *EKI* 72 and 73 C.

[6] Fuchs, *Sar.*, 152 Ann. 303 l. 6 refers to Šutur-nahundi as *malku* (*CAD* M/I, 166 "king, [foreign] ruler").

[7] Luckenbill, *Senn.*, 49:7.

[8] *BIWA* 54 A vi 53.

[9] Weidner, "Assyrische Beschreibungen," No. 3; *BIWA*, 299; and Russell, *Writing on the Wall*, 158.

13) Šutur-Nahhunte, father of Huban-kitin (NE cylinder seal inscription[10])
   ᵛᵈhu-ban-ki-tin DUMU EŠŠANA ᵛšu-tur-ᵈPÍR-na
   "Huban-kitin, son of king Šutur-Nahhunte"

14) Šutur-Nahhunte son of Huttete (*MDP* 11, 301:4)
   ᴮᴱšu-tur-ᵈPÍR DUMU hu-ut-te-te

15) Šutur-Nahhunte (*MDP* 9, 24 r. 5)
   ᴮᴱšu-tur-ᵈPÍR-na

Analysis of the Elamite form of the first element of the name (i.e., *Šutruk-* and *Šutur-*) is the first stumbling block in differentiating the above-named individuals. Simply put, are *Šutruk-Nahhunte* and *Šutur-Nahhunte* variant forms of the same name? M. Lambert answers this question in the negative: acknowledging that both forms stem from the same root (i.e., *šutur*), he notes that the final -*k* "fournit une notion verbale passive qui donne un terme différent."[11]

F. Grillot analyzes the root *šut(u).ru* as "to judge, decide" – which served as the "participe accompli passif" base for Šutruk-Nahhunte's name – and renders the form Šutruk-Nahhunte as "Nahhunte (is) judgement." She distinguishes this form from *šutur* (*šutu+r*), implicitly denying the possibility of the variant forms of the same root, though she does not elaborate.[12] The term *šutur* is used in a similar context (often translated as "the right" or "order") found in inscriptions of Untaš-Napiriša,[13] the priest Šutruru,[14] and Darius I.[15] These occurrences suggest that the same root is in question.

Numbers 2-5 above contain the same patronymic "son of Huban-immena," but Numbers 2-3 use *Šutur-* and Numbers 4-5 use *Šutruk-*. Thus V. Scheil, assuming that these were variations of the same name, viewed all of these inscriptions as dedications of the same king, Šutruk-Nahhunte II.[16] Vallat has

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[10] Amiet, "La glyptique," 29 No. 34 and Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique,," 61.

[11] "Shutruk-Nahunte et Shutur-Nahunte," *Syria* 44 (1967), 48. See also F. Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahhunte, Šutur-nahhunte et l'imbroglio néo-élamite," *N.A.B.U.* 1995/2 (Juin), No. 44.

[12] "Trinôme de la royauté," 190 n. 25. She also attributes the root *šut(u).ru* to the secondary element of Huban-šuturuk's name (Bronze Plaque of Persepolis, seal) and as a verbal form in *EKI* 74 II 29. *šutur* with the delocutive suffixes -*r* and/or -*p* appears, apparently as a nominal conjugation on a verbal base (see Grillot-Susini, *Éléments de grammaire élamite*, 35), in *MDP* 9, 147 r. 7; 153 r. 9, 11, 14, 16; and 201:5 at the end of summaries of various quantities. The sense is ambiguous, but compare the use of *šutur* in the Persepolis Fortification texts rendered by Hallock as "(accounting) balance" (*PFT*, 759 for references). Compare also the references listed in *ElW*, 1187-88 (*šutur* and forms) and 1194 (*šutruk*).

[13] M.-J. Steve, *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash), Vol. III, Textes élamites et accadiens de Tchoga Zanbil*, *MDP* 41 (Paris, 1967), No. 31 A:4.

[14] *EKI* 74 II 2 and 12 (both obscure).

[15] For example, DB §63:80. Note the Akkadian (*dīnāti*) and Old Persian (*arštām*) equivalents in §63.

[16] *MDP* 3, No. 57 and *MDP* 5, Nos. 84 and 85 and followed by König, *EKI* 71-73.

utilized orthographic variations in the inscriptions to put forth the view that two different sovereigns are involved: Šutruk-Nahhunte II (late eighth century) and Šutur-Nahhunte (mid- to late seventh century).[17] According to Vallat, the use of *šá* in Numbers 2-3 indicates a later date, since *ša* apparently went out of use in Šutruk-Nahhunte II's reign.[18] While *ša* may not appear in later documents, it is possible that *ša* and *šá* might occur in different, contemporaneous inscriptions. The obsolescence of *ša* could have begun during Šutruk-Nahhunte II's reign.

The link with Numbers 2-3 to Šutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699) should be maintained, despite the variation of *Šutur-Nahhunte* and *Šutruk-Nahhunte*, which does not appear to be significant. The titulary differs slightly among the inscriptions but not so much so that it argues against their attribution to the same individual. *EKI* 72/*IRS* 57 omits "king of Anshan and Susa," while this title appears (or is a plausible restoration) in *EKI* 71 and 73, and the fragment published by Amiet in *Syria* 44.

Of the above references, most refer to Šutruk-Nahhunte II: Numbers 2-8 and Number 11.[19] Number 1 is to be dated with the Malyan tablets. Number 12 must be dated to Ashurbanipal's Elamite campaign of 653. Numbers 14-15 apparently refer to private individuals, since they have no titles. Whether they refer to one person or not is uncertain, but both (even if distinct) may be dated roughly from the late seventh to early sixth centuries. Number 9 (the Stele of Šutruru) mentions a king Šutruk-Nahhunte but with no patronymic. The name Šutruru appears elsewhere, in Hanni's inscriptions (*EKI* 75 B and C) and in a text found at Susa (*MDP* 11, 299). Steve chronologically links *EKI* 74, which he assigns to the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte II, and *MDP* 11, 299.[20] Number 12 offers a possible connection to Number 13. Here is the relevant epigraph of Ashurbanipal:

> ᵐ*Umbakidinni* ᴸᵁ́NIMGIR *ša* ᴷᵁᴿ*Hidali ša* SAG.DU *ša* ᵐ*Ištarnandi* LUGAL *ša* ᴷᵁᴿ*Hidali našûni*[21]

> Umbakidinni, the *nāgiru* of Hidalu, carries the head of Ištarnandi, king of Hidalu

This passage bears a parallel with a Neo-Elamite cylinder seal inscription (Number 13). The seal impression is quite similar to Neo-Babylonian glyptic:

"It is engraved with a formal composition of two upright *mushhushu* dragons supporting a central spade, the symbol of the deity Marduk."[22] Commentators note its workmanship and state that it must have been a product of a royal workshop and date it to the late seventh to early sixth centuries.[23] The inscription reads "Huban-kitin, son of king Šutur-Nahhunte" (ᵛᵈ*hu-ban-ki-tin* DUMU EŠŠANA ᵛ*šu-tur-*ᵈPÍR-*na*).

The crucial difference between the epigraph and the cylinder seal inscription is the identification of Umbakidinni (Elamite *Huban-kitin*) as *nāgiru* of Hidalu in the Ashurbanipal epigraph and as the son of king Šutur-Nahhunte in the cylinder seal.[24] It would not be surprising to find that Ištarnandi's son Umbakidinni held a position of power at Hidalu, but in such a case it would be surprising that the epigraph does not identify him as Ištarnandi's son. The identification of Umbakidinni, son of Ištarnandi, with Huban-kitin, son of king Šutur-Nahhunte, requires further support.

The name Huban-kitin occurs several times in the economic and administrative texts from Susa. Within these texts at least four Huban-kitins appear (or are reasonably restored), distinguishable as individuals by four different patronymics.[25] Only one offers a potential parallel with the seal inscription (*MDP* 9, 5:9/10). Scheil's copy reads: ᴮᴱ*hu-ban-ki-tin* DUMU EŠŠANA... ("Huban-kitin, son of king...").[26] Another possible reading is "Huban-kitin, son of Sunki-x." The absence of a determinative argues against this latter reading, however.[27] If the former reading is accurate, "Huban-kitin, son of king [Šutur-Nahhunte]" is a reasonable restoration.

If accurate, this identification offers a chronological link between these economic texts and the cylinder seal of Huban-kitin, but such a link still provides no more than an approximate date. Identification of this Huban-kitin and Šutur-/Šutruk-Nahhunte with those Elamites prominent in Ashurbanipal's epigraph would indicate a mid- to late seventh century date. It would also necessitate Huban-kitin's return to Elam after his humiliation at the Assyrian court. In such a case, Huban-kitin's continued identification as "son of king Šutur-Nahhunte" would then be curious, especially after the Assyrian sources indicate that Ištarnandi was put to death. The uncertainty regarding these issues demands that this identification, and a link between *MDP* 9, 5 and this cylinder seal inscription, be left hypothetical.

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[17] Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahhunte, Šutur-nahhunte" and "Nouvelle analyse," 393 for the view that *Šutur-* is not a variant of *Šutruk-*. See also Miroschedji, "La fin du royaume," 278.

[18] Steve, *Syllabaire*, p. 155, No. 353. As Steve notes, *EKI* 74 (Šutruru) also uses *šá* rather than *ša*. Significantly, this inscription is the only one other than *EKI* 72 and 73 that contains the form Šutruk-Nahhunte.

[19] This passage (*BIWA*, 54 A vi 52-55) lists the kings in chronological order: Ummanigaš (Huban-nikaš I), son of Umbadarâ (Huban-tahra), Ištarnanhundi (Šutruk-Nahhunte II), Hallušu, and (skipping several kings) Tammaritu (II).

[20] Steve, *Syllabaire*, 155, No. 353 and "La fin de l'Elam," 7-8 and 15.

[21] See above, p. 112 n. 9.

[22] J. Aruz, *Royal City*, 213. For this dragon icon, see T. L. Lewis, "*CT* 13.33-34 and Ezekiel 32: Lion-Dragon Myths," *JAOS* 116 (1996), 28-47.

[23] See P. Amiet, "La glyptique," 18-19 and Pl. 6 and P. de Miroschedji, "Notes sur la glyptique," 61f. Steve, *Syllabaire*, 22 dates this seal to his N III A period (c. 653-605).

[24] See above, p. 54 n. 81 and Steve, "La fin de l'Élam," 14-15.

[25] *MDP* 9, 5, 52, 107, 139, 141(?), 180, 263 and *MDP* 11, 303 and 305 (in both of these texts, a Huban-kitin appears as the father).

[26] The text is illegible after EŠŠANA.

[27] Following Vallat, "Šutruk-Nahhunte, Šutur-Nahhunte." The presence of the expected determinative is not always consistent in these texts, however.

Number 10 cannot be connected to Šutruk-Nahhunte II. Hanni, the *kutur*[28] of Ayapir, mentions king Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada (*EKI* 75:10). Since Šutruk-Nahhunte II identified himself as the son of Huban-immena, this identification is impossible. Steve dates Hanni's inscriptions (*EKI* 75-76) between 750 and 653.[29] In that chronological frame, a good candidate for this Šutur-Nahhunte is the Ištarnandi of Ashurbanipal's epigraph. The epigraph does not indicate Ištarnandi's father, though, so such a connection remains uncertain. A date in the Neo-Elamite III period cannot be excluded for Hanni's inscriptions.

To summarize, the table below reflects the least number (i.e., two) of royal Šutur-/Šutruk-Nahhuntes possible in the Neo-Elamite period. There may have been up to six, but until new evidence confirms otherwise a minimalist approach seems preferable.

Šutruk-Nah[hunte]: 1 (Malyan)

Šutruk-Nahhunte II, king of Elam (717-699): 2*, 3*, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9*, 11

Šutur-Nahhunte, king of Hidalu (mid-seventh century): 10*, 12, 13*[30]

Non-royal individuals (undated): 14, 15

(* Indicates provisional assignment)

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[28] For this term, see above, p. 83 n. 7.

[29] Steve, "La fin de l'Élam," 15 and *Syllabaire*, 21.

[30] Number 12 is the only certain attribution for this individual. Numbers 10 and 13 may just as likely be assigned to another Šutur-Nahhunte in the late seventh to early sixth centuries (unattested in Mesopotamian sources) or may even refer to two separate individuals.

APPENDIX C

Dating Ashurbanipal's Campaigns against Huban-haltaš III

One of the most vexing questions of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Elamite studies centers upon the dates of the two Assyrian campaigns against Huban-haltaš III. G. Frame admirably lays out the evidence and concludes that the campaigns took place in the years 647 and 646. But as Frame notes, each scheme presented has its problems and further information is required before the issue is settled.[1] The following table represents the chronology followed in this work. This reconstruction is tentative.

Simānu (III), 647:	First campaign against Huban-haltaš III commences
Šabattu (XI), 647:	Ashurbanipal writes to the elders of Elam and demands that Nabû-bēl-šumāti and his cohorts be delivered to him, under threat of grave consequences (BM 132980[2])
Kislimu (IX), 646:	Return of Nanaya to Uruk after the second campaign against Huban-haltaš III
Dûzu (IV), 645:	Huban-haltaš III writes to Ashurbanipal that Nabû-bēl-šumāti has been captured (*ABL* 879)

This chronology assigns the eponym of Nabû-nādin-aḫi to 647 and that of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu to 645.[3] The annals' chronology is imprecise, so it is uncertain how long the Nabû-bēl-šumāti affair continued after the second campaign against Huban-haltaš III. Other possibilities include assigning both campaigns to the same year or dating them sequentially to 648 and 647. It is

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[1] *Babylonia*, Appendix E. Gerardi, "Elamite Campaigns," 68-69 dates both campaigns to 647.

[2] BM 132980 is dated XI/eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḫi. See above, p. 75.

[3] This scheme is provisional. It necessitates exclusive counting with regard to K 4773, which states that there were six years from Sagabu (eponym of 651) to Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu. Compare J. Reade, "Assyrian eponyms, kings and pretenders, 648-605 BC," *Or.* 67 (1998), 256-57. For an overview of the post-canonical eponyms, see R. Whiting, "The Post-Canonical and Extra-Canonical Eponyms," in Millard, *Eponyms*, 72-78.

not evident whether BM 132980 was written as a prelude to the second campaign or after it, threatening further destruction beyond the sack of Susa.[4]

K 2654 r. 16 supports the dating of the campaigns to sequential years, referring to campaigns in consecutive years ([DIŠ^{et} MU.A]N.NA... *šanītu* MU. AN.NA). K 2631+ r. 9 refers to a third campaign against Huban-[haltaš]. This text breaks off after ^{m}*um-ma-an-*, but *-al-da-si* (i.e., Huban-haltaš) is the probable restoration. It refers to Ashurbanipal destroying Elam "in the first year" (*ištêt šattu*), then "again, a second [time]" (*šanītu*), and "a third [time]" (*šalāštum*).[5] This third campaign may have been the one that brought Huban-haltaš to Nineveh (see above, p. 79).

Historical considerations favor dating the campaigns to 647 and 646. This reconstruction allows ample time (i.e., from 648 to 645) for Ashurbanipal to finish affairs in Babylonia; for a major campaign against Elam in each of the years 647 and 646; for a second tenure of some months for Tammaritu II; and for the conclusion of the Nabû-bēl-šumāti affair (which apparently continued after the second campaign). BM 132980 serves as a striking witness to Ashurbanipal's rising wrath and impatience with the Elamites, and it provides a compelling backdrop to the second campaign. In light of the available evidence, this letter seems better interpreted as a prelude to the sack of Susa rather than an epilogue.

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[4] Millard interprets this letter as written after the sack of Susa: "Ashurbanipal's Ultimatum to Elam," a paper read at the XXXVI RAI, Ghent, 1989.

[5] *BIWA*, 84 for both texts; see Frame, *Babylonia*, 295 n. 12. A similar reference in K 1364 r. 8-9 (Bauer, *Asb.*, 51-52 and Streck, *Asb.*, 174-75) may also refer to a third (*šalšiānu*) campaign.

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